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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF IRE
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John Lanigan

AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
IRELAND,
FROM THE
FIRST INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY
AMONG THE IRISH,
TO
THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.
COMPILED
FROM THE WORKS OF THE MOST ESTEEMED AUTHORS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC,
WHO HAVE WRITTEN AND PUBLISHED ON MATTERS CONNECTED WITH
THE IRISH CHURCH;
AND FROM IRISH ANNALS AND OTHER AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS,
STILL EXISTING IN MANUSCRIPT.

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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

SECOND EDITION.

DUBLIN :

PRINTED FOR J. CUMMING, 16, L. ORMOND-QUAY ;
SIMPKIN AND MARSHALL, LONDON ;
AND FOR R. CADELL AND CO., EDINBURGH.

1829.

AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
IRELAND, &c.

CHAPTER XXV.

Several Irish monasteries founded in Germany—Monastery of St. Peter at Ratisbon founded by Marianus an Irishman—Domnus, an Irishman, first abbot of the monastery of St. James at Ratisbon—John, an Irishman, bishop of Mecklenburgh, martyred by the apostate Sclavonians—Death of Marianus Scotus the chronographer—Death of Moel-Iosa archbishop of Armagh—Domnald bishop of Armagh makes a visitation of Munster and other parts of Ireland—Battle of Magh-choba—Death of Domnald—Samuel bishop of Dublin elected by Mortogh O'Brien and the clergy and people of Dublin, and consecrated by Anselm archbishop of Canterbury—Waterford erected into a Bishoprick—Malchus, its first bishop, consecrated by Anselm—Assembly of the clergy and people of Ireland at Cashel, in which king Mortogh made over that seat of the Munster kings to God and the church—Donald, nephew of Mortogh, made king of Mann and the Hebrides—Gillibert bishop of Limerick endeavours to reduce the various liturgies in Ireland to one uniform system—Celsus, or Ceallach, archbishop of Ar-

magh, endeavours to stop the hereditary succession by which that See had been injured—Synod of Fiodh-mac-Aengusa—Synod of Rath-Breasail for regulating the dioceses in Ireland—Gregory first archbishop of Dublin.

SECT. I.

IN this century, and somewhat later, several Irish monasteries were founded in Germany. Of that of Erford we have seen already. (1) The next was that of St. Peter's in a suburb of Ratisbon, the occasion of which was as follows. Marianus, (2) who must not be confounded with the chronographer Marianus Scotus, a very handsome man, learned in divine and human knowledge, and eloquent, was a native of the North of Ireland, and went to Germany in 1067 or 1068 accompanied by some persons, among whom are particularly mentioned John and Candidus. It is said that they were first received by Otto, bishop of Ratisbon, (3) with whom they remained for one year in the clerical habit. Afterwards they became Benedictine monks in the monastery of St. Michael near Bamberg. Wishing to go to Rome they stopped on their way at Ratisbon, where was at that time, and for many years before, an Irish recluse named Muricherdac, or Murcherat, who lived in a cell without being a member of any monastery. (4) They were received by the abbess Hemma, whose nunnery was, it seems, near Muricherdac's cell. Marianus communicated his intention of visiting Rome to that holy man, who advised him to pray to God to direct him, whether it would be better to do so or to remain at Ratisbon. On the following night, as is said, Marianus being asleep thought he was desired to stop and spend the remainder of his life in the place, where the rising sun would first shine upon him. The next morning he set out with

his companions for the purpose of going to Rome, but, when outside of the city, stopped for a while in St. Peter's church, and prayed there for a prosperous journey. Having finished his prayer, and just as he was coming out of the church, the rays of the rising sun struck his eyes, upon which, recollecting his dream, he determined on not proceeding further, and, together with his companions, throwing himself on his knees thanked God for having pointed out to him the place, where he should live and die. When this circumstance was made known to the abbess Hemma, she made over to Marianus and his brethren the church of St. Peter, and got her grant confirmed by Henry IV. then king of Germany. Several pious and liberal citizens, among whom one Bezelin distinguished himself, contributed towards building for them a monastery. (5)

(1) *Chap. xxiv. §. 2.*

(2) The Bollandists have at 9 February a Life of Marianus from a copy taken by Father Gamansius a Jesuit from a MS. of a Carthusian monastery. The author was an Irish monk of Ratisbon, and lived in the 12th century. He says, that he knew Isaac one of Marianus' monks, who lived to the age of 120 years, and speaks of various Irishmen of said century, and of Irish monasteries founded after the death of Marianus. In fact his work is rather a history of several Irish monasteries established in Germany, commencing with that of St. Peter's of Ratisbon, than a Life of Marianus. Having observed that the Irish were accustomed to visit foreign countries, and touched upon Mansuetus, St. Patrick, Columbkil, Fursey, Columbanus, Gallus, &c. he enters upon his subject, which is all through relative to the affairs of Irish monks exclusively. In the account of Marianus and his companions, and of other Irishmen either his contemporaries, or later than him, who in those times became distinguished in Germany, I shall chiefly follow this tract together with the learned commentary prefixed to it by the Bollandists.

(3) This Otto is in the Life of Marianus called, by mistake, bishop of Bamberg. He had been indeed a canon of Bamberg;

but he was bishop of Ratisbon from 1060 to 1089. The Otto, bishop of Bamberg, was not so until 1102 several years after the death of Marianus. The Bollandists think, that Marianus and his companions went in the first place to Bamberg. Usher was greatly mistaken in placing (*Ind. Chron.*) the arrival of Marianus and his companions at Ratisbon as late as *A.* 1090.

(4) Colgan treats (at 17 January) of Muricherdac chiefly from Raderus, *Bavaria sancta*. The Bollandists observe, that he had no authority for placing him at that day.

(5) See Raderus *op.* Colgan, *ib.*

§. II. The companions of Marianus, whom I find mentioned on this occasion, were John, Candidus, and Clemens. (6) Muricherdac did not join himself to them, but continued in his cell until his death, which is conjectured to have occurred about *A. D.* 1080. Yet he may be considered as the father of this monastery, for it was owing to the great veneration in which he was held, that his countrymen Marianus, &c. were encouraged and enabled to establish it. As soon as it was known in Ireland that this monastery was formed, several persons from the North, whence Marianus himself was, went over to Ratisbon and were received by him, so that the community gradually became numerous. Some time after its being well established, Clemens went to Jerusalem, where he died; and John withdrew to Austria, where he became a recluse on Mount Kottwich. One of Marianus' chief occupations, and probably of his monks, according to the old practice of those of Ireland, was the transcribing of books, of which he left a great number in his handwriting. He drew up some commentaries on the Psalms, which, as he tells us in the preface, he collected from various Fathers of the Church, and put into one book, in honour of our Saviour, the Blessed Virgin, and St. Erard, in the year 1074, the seventh of his peregrination. (7) It is said, that Marianus died in 1088; but on what day

is not known. (8) After him there were six abbots of St. Peter's monastery, all from the North of Ireland, until Domnus, who was from the South, became the first abbot of the new monastery of St. James, which the Irish monks erected in the city of Ratisbon, after the beginning of the 12th century, and to which that of St. Peter's became subordinate, and from which several others were derived, as will be seen in the account of that period. Yet I may be allowed to observe in this place, that, although the Irish monastery of Wurtzburg is usually reckoned among those founded after St. James' of Ratisbon, there is reason to think that it existed, perhaps on a smaller scale, several years prior to that of St. James itself. (9)

(6) Raderus omits Clemens, who is named in the Life published by the Bollandists. Some others are spoken of; but it is more probable, that they were not with Marianus from the beginning. The Bollandists observe, that Donatus, who is reckoned among them by Aventinus, is not mentioned by any other author. Aventinus supposed, that Marianus of Ratisbon was the same as Marianus Scotus, and had led astray Usher, (see *Pr. p.* 736.) who afterwards corrected himself (*ib. p.* 1060).

(7) Aventinus quotes said preface from a *MS.* of a monastery of Ratisbon. Part of it is as follows; "Anno Dominicae Incarnationis 1074—Marianus Scotus septimo peregrinationis suae anno collegit modicas istas undas de profundo sanctorum, Patrum pelago, scilicet Hieronymi, Augustini, Cassiodori, Arnobii, et de opusculis S. Gregorii; et pro suae animae salute in honorem Salvatoris," &c. These must be the Commentaries on the Psalms, which some writers have attributed to Marianus the chronographer; but they could not have been written by him; for the year 1074 was much later than the seventh of his peregrination or absence from Ireland. It is true that the author of them also calls himself *Scotus*; but all the Irish of that period were so denominated in the continent. Ware has not this Marianus among the Irish writers; but Harris, who lived later and had better opportu-

nities for knowing something about him, ought not to have omitted him.

(8) Raderus assigned his death to said year, which the Bollandists consider as probable. As to the day, they could not determine any thing, although Gamansius found the date *V. idus Febr.* (9th of February) added in the *MS.* whence he copied the so called *Life of Marianus.*

(9) We have seen, (*Chap. xxiv. §. 5.*) that Gilda-na naomh, bishop of Glendaloch, became abbot of the monks of Wurtzburg, and died there in 1085. If there be not some mistake in this date, it must be allowed that there was an Irish establishment in that city before the foundation of St. James's of Ratisbon, which is rendered probable also by the circumstance of its apostle St. Kilian having been an Irishman.

§. III. Among several martyrs, who were put to death by the apostate inhabitants of the old Sclavonia, we find a venerable Irishman, John bishop of Mecklenburgh. To what has been said of him elsewhere (10) we have to add, that he had arrived in the north of Germany in the year 1057, where he was well received by Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen, who appointed him, seemingly about 1062, bishop of Mecklenburgh, and directed him to Gothescale, prince of those Sclavonians, who was exceedingly zealous for the propagation of the faith among his subjects. John converted and baptized many thousands of them. But the pagan and apostate part of that ferocious nation, having killed Gothescale and several priests, monks, and lay Christians in 1065, seized upon John, and after cruelly beating him with sticks carried him about as a show through all their towns. Stopping at Rethre, their capital, and finding him still inflexible in confessing Jesus Christ, they cut off his feet and hands, and at length his head, on the 10th of November in said year. Having thrown the body into the street, they placed the head on a pike, which they carried about as a mark

of triumph, and then immolated to their god Redigast. (11)

The chronographer Marianus Scotus, whom we left at Fulda, where he spent ten years, (12) was removed thence, by order of the bishop of Mentz and of the abbot of Fulda, in the year 1069, on the Friday before Palm Sunday, third of April, and went to Mentz, where he was again shut up on the 10th of July. (13) He remained there as a recluse until 1086, in which year he died and was buried at St. Martin's of Mentz without the city. (14) His reputation for piety was very great; and as to learning he has been ever since considered as one of the first men of his times. The chronicle, which he continued down to *A. D.* 1083, exceeds any thing of the kind, which the middle ages have produced, and would appear still more respectable, were it published entire. He has left also Notes on all the Epistles of St. Paul annexed to a copy of them transcribed by himself in the year 1079, which is extant in the Imperial library of Vienna. Said notes, although well worthy of the light, have not, as far as I know, been as yet published. (15) It may be conjectured, that he was author also of some excellent anonymous Notes on the Gospel of St. Mark, which are to be found in said library. (16) As to the commentaries on the Psalms, which have been ascribed to him, they were in all probability no other than those, that were written by his namesake of Ratisbon. (17)

(10) *Chap.* xxi. §. 11.

(11) See Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* L. 61. §. 17. and L. 60. §. 58. Although John is called by Fleury *Ecossois* in consequence of his having been named by some writers a *Scotus*, according to the usual denomination of the Irish of those times in the continent, yet there can be no doubt but that he was a native of Ireland. Trithemius says in the *Chronicon Hirsaugiense* at *A.* 1064, that in these times came John a monk from Ireland, that he preached

with great zeal in the territory of Mecklenburgh, and was placed by the Pope as bishop over the people of that country, where he received the crown of martyrdom. Trithemius' words are quoted and followed by Menard in the Benedictine martyrology. (See Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 407.) Adam of Bremen makes mention of John more than once, and relates his martyrdom, *Histor. Eccles. L. 4. c. 12.* See also Mabillon, *Annal. Bened. ad A.* 1065.

(12) See *Chap. xxiv. §. 3.*

(13) Marianus has at *A.* 1069; "Ego miser Marianus, jussu episcopi Moguntiensis et abbatis Fuldensis, feria 6 ante Palmas, 3 nonis Aprilis, post annos decem meae inclusionis solutus, de clusa in Fulda ad Moguntiam veni et in festivitate Septem fratrum secundo includor."

(14) Dodechin, the continuator of Marianus' chronicle, writes at *A.* 1086; "Marianus Scotus et inclusus obiit, et apud sanctum Martinum sepelitur." See also Mabillon, *Annal. Een. ad A.* 1083.

(15) We owe the knowledge of this valuable *MS.* to Lambecius, who informs us, (*Comment de Biblioth. Caes. Vindobon L. 2. cap. 8. p. 749.*) that it is the 49th among the Latin theological MSS. "quo (he says) continentur omnes Epistolae S. Pauli apostoli celeberrimi chronographi Mariani Scoti, monachi Fuldensis, propria manu anno Christi 1079 exaratae, et ab eodem annotationibus marginalibus et interlinearibus, hactenus quidem nondum editis, editu tamen dignissimis, illustratae; in quarum fine haec ipsius legitur subscriptio: *Explicit Epistola ad Hebraeos, habens versus DCCC. In honore Individuae Trinitatis Marianus Scottus scripsit hunc librum suis fratribus peregrinis. Anima ejus requiescat in pace, propter Deum devote dicite, Amen.* xvi. Kal. Junii, hodie feria vi. anno Domini MLXXXVIII." At fol. 10 of said *MS.* are these words in his handwriting; "x Kal. April. anno Domini MLXXVIII Mariani miseri Domine miserere." It might be suspected that this Marianus was the one of Ratisbon, of whom above; but his styling himself *miseri* is sufficient to show, that he was the chronographer, who was in the habit of calling himself *miser Marianus*, as may be seen in his chronicle at *A.* 1028 and 1069.

(16) Lambecius just before his account of the *MS.* of St. Paul's Epistles, &c. makes mention of a copy of the Gospel of St. Mark

illustrated with very good marginal and interlinear annotations. It appeared to him as written about 600 years before his time ; and he adds that the handwriting is very like that of the *MS.* now spoken of. This, however, is not a sufficient proof for attributing it to Marianus.

(17) See above *Not.* 7. Concerning some other works attributed to him, but without sufficient authority, the reader may consult Harris, *Writers at Marianus.*

§. IV. Moeliosa, archbishop of Armagh, having held the see for 27 years, (18) died after a long course of penance on the 20th of December, A. D. 1091 ; (19) and his place was immediately occupied by Domnald, son of Amalgaid, and in all appearance a brother of Moeliosa. (20) Nothing is said of his election ; and it is sufficiently clear, that he usurped that situation in virtue of the pretended abominable right of hereditary succession. He was one of those lay pseudo-archbishops, who were a disgrace to Armagh and to the whole Irish church. Yet in 1092 he made a visitation of Kinel-Eoguin or the O'Neill's country of Tyrone, and in 1094 of Munster and other parts of Ireland ; (21) a visitation, which could not be of a spiritual nature, but merely for the purpose of exacting dues according to what was called the *Law of St. Patrick*. During his incumbency great abuses prevailed in various parts of Ireland, and to add to the evils caused by bad men, a dreadful plague raged in 1095, which swept away a vast number of people. To guard against further misfortunes, which the whole nation was apprehensive of, and which some persons had pretended to foretel, it was resolved by Domnald and the clergy of all Ireland, that during every month of the year 1096 a fast should be observed from Wednesday until the following Sunday, and that only one meal should be allowed on every day of the whole year, excepting Sundays and the great festivals. The people willingly submitted to this regulation, became fervent

in their prayers, and made many pious offerings, while the kings, princes, and nobles endowed churches, heretofore distressed, with lands and immunities. (22) In 1099 Coencomrach O'Boigill, or Boil, was consecrated on Whit-sunday suffragan or acting bishop for the see of Armagh. (23) Who was his immediate predecessor in that capacity, I do not find recorded. Domnald greatly exerted himself towards putting a stop to the wars, that raged in Ireland between the northern and southern princes, whom he induced in said year 1099 to abstain from an intended great battle and to conclude a truce for one year. (24) In 1101 he prevailed on Domnald Mac Lochlin to discharge out of prison Donat O'Heochadha, prince of Ulidia, an eastern territory of Ulster, and in 1102 procured a truce for one year between that powerful king and Murtoogh O'Brian. (25) But they quarrelled again in 1103, and Murtoogh marched into Ulster with a great army, consisting of the forces of Leth-mogha, and, having besieged Armagh for some time, and committed various depredations, at length fought the famous battle of Magh-Choba in Tyrone, in which he was defeated with great loss by Domnald Mac-Lochlin and the northerns. (26) The archbishop, as he was called, still endeavoured to prevent a renewal of such dreadful occurrences, and accordingly went to Dublin in 1105 (27) for the purpose of establishing a durable peace between those two kings. He was there taken grievously ill, and was conveyed, on his way to Armagh, to the church of Domnach-airthir-emhna, where he received Extreme unction, and thence to Armagh, where he died on the 12th of August in said year and was honourably buried (28) Domnald was succeeded by Celsus on the 23d of September following.

(18) *Chap.* xxiv. §. 4.

(19) *Tr. Th.* p. 299. Ware (*Bishops at Maclisa*) has 24

December, *A.* 1092. Whether the day was 20 or 24, is of little consequence; but he had no right to change the year 1091 into 1092. O'Flaherty in his *MS.* catalogue has retained 1091.

(20) *Tr. Th. ib.*

(21) *ib.* According to the Annals of Innifallen at *A.* 1094 he made a tour of all Ireland.

(22) See *Tr. Th. ib.* and Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1095–1096. In the *Tr. Th.* it is said, that a bad omen, connected with a sort of prophecy, was taken from the circumstance of the feast of St. John the Baptist (not that of his nativity, but that of his decollation, 29 August) being to fall in 1096 on a Friday. Concerning this silly cause of alarm the Annals now referred to have nothing; nor could it have had any weight except with fools. There were motives enough for dreading the divine vengeance and for repenting, without recurring to such an idle speculation.

(23) *Tr. Th. ib.* and Ware, *Armagh at Donald.*

(24) *Tr. Th. ib.* and Annals of Innisfallen at 1099.

(25) *Tr. Th. ib.* Murtagh had in the preceding year ravaged the territories of Domnald, and destroyed his palaces of Oighleach, or Aileach, and of Coleraine.

(26) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1103, Magh-Choba, or the plain of Choba, was in Tyrone (see Colgan's Topographical index to *Tr. Th.*) and was probably where the village now called Coagh is situated. Harris is quite wrong in stating, (*Archbishops of Armagh at Donald*) that the truce, which said Donald had brought about in 1102, was kept on foot by him until 1106.

(27) Ware, still persisting in his system of adding a year to the dates, has changed 1105 into 1106; but O'Flaherty (*MS.* catalogue) has retained it.

(28) *Tr. Th. p.* 299. Colgan says, (*ib. p.* 272.) that there was a church called *Domnach-airthir* in the diocese of Armagh; but he does not tell us in what part of it. Ware gives a different account of Domnald's death, according to which he fell sick on his return to Armagh and died at Duleek, whence his remains were carried to Armagh. He adds that Domnald was 68 years of age.

§. v. Donatus or Donogh O'Haingly, bishop of Dublin, who died of the plague in 1095, (29) had for successor his nephew Samuel O'Haingly, who had been a Benedictine monk of St. Alban's in England, and of whom an old writer gives us the following circumstantial account. "In the
" year 1095 there came to Anselm a certain monk
" of the monastery of St. Alban's, an Irishman,
" named Samuel. Upon the death of Donatus, of
" happy memory, bishop of the city of Dublin, he
" was elected by Murierdach (Murtogh O'Brian)
" and the clergy and people to the bishopric of that
" city, and by a general decree directed, according
" to old custom, to Anselm, to be consecrated by
" him. Anselm assenting to their election and pe-
" tition, having kept this man with himself for
" some time in an honorable manner, and diligently
" instructed him how he should conduct himself in
" in the house of God, received from him his pro-
" fession of canonical obedience according to old
" custom, and promoted him to the episcopal office
" at Winchester on the octave of the following Eas-
" ter, being assisted by four of his suffragan bi-
" shops. This new prelate, strengthened by the
" benediction of so great a father, and by his let-
" ters to the aforesaid king and to the clergy and
" people of Ireland, written as testimonials of his
" consecration, returned to his country with joy,
" and was received in his see with honour according
" to the usage of that land " (30) Samuel's pro-
" fession was in these terms ; " I Samuel, chosen for
" the government of the church of Dublin, which is
" situated in Ireland, and to be consecrated bishop
" by thee, Reverend father Anselm, archbishop of
" the holy church of Canterbury, and primate of
" all Britain, do promise, that I will observe cano-
" nical obedience in all things to thee and all thy
" successors." (31) Of Samuel's proceedings I
find very little recorded except some circumstances

mentioned in a letter written to him by Anselm, (32) in which he complains, 1. that Samuel freely disposed of and gave to strangers the books, garments, and other church ornaments, which the archbishop Lanfranc had made a present of through his uncle Donatus for the use of his church. (33) Anselm says that, if this be true, he wonders at his doing so, whereas those articles were not given to Donatus but to the church, as the brethren of Canterbury could prove; and accordingly he admonishes and desires him to get speedily restored any such part of them as might have been alienated from the church. 2. He adds; "I have heard, that
" you expel and disperse the monks, who were col-
" lected in said church for its service, and that you
" refuse to receive those who are willing to return.
" If it be so, this does not become you; for it is your
" duty rather to assemble the scattered than to scatter
" the assembled. Therefore I order you that, if any
" of them have been cast out, and wish to return
" and keep themselves in the service of God under
" obedience, you do receive them, and with paternal
" affection carefully look to their welfare; unless,
" what God forbid, there may be some cause in their
" conduct, which would not allow this to be done."
3. Anselm then tells him; "I have also heard, that
" you make the Cross be carried before you on the
" way; which if it be true, I command you not to
" do so again; for this privilege does not belong
" except to an archbishop, who has been confirmed
" with the pall by the Roman pontiff; nor is it fit,
" that by any presumption relative to an unusual
" thing you should appear remarkable and repre-
" hensible to men." At what time this letter was
written, I am not able to ascertain; but it must have
been after Malchus was seated in the new see of Wa-
terford, whereas it was directed to him with instruc-
tions to be delivered in person to Samuel. (34) This

bishop's incumbency was rather a long one, as he lived until the 4th of July, A. D. 1121. (35)

(29) *Chap. xxiv. §. 13.*

(30) Eadmer, *Historia Novourm*, L. 2. See also Ware, *Bishops at Samuel O'Haingly*.

(31) *Ap. Usher, Sylloge* towards the end.

(32) This letter is the 39th in the *Sylloge*, and the 72d of the third book in Gerberon's edition of St. Anselm's works.

(33) See *Chap. xxiv. §. 13.*

(34) The letter of Anselm to Malchus, accompanying that to Samuel, is the 38th in the *Sylloge*. In it is a summary of Anselm's complaints, who adds, that he orders the people of Dublin to prevent the letting out of the articles belonging to the church, and desires him to expostulate, *viva voce*, with Samuel, and advise him to obey his admonition. At this letter to Malchus Usher marked *about A. 1110*, which, were it correct, would be also the date of the one to Samuel. Ware and Harris (*Bishops of Waterford at Malchus*) have followed Usher. But it could not have been so late, whereas Anselm died on the 21st of April, A. D. 1109. It is probable, that it was written in a rather early part of Samuel's incumbency. The mighty antiquary Ledwich says, (*p. 439*) that Samuel ejected the monks in 1110, *i. e.* a year after Anselm's death.

(35) Ware at *Samuel O'Haingly*. Harris observes, that the Annals of Mary's Abbey assign his death to 1122. But, besides the Book of obits of Christ-church, the continuator of Florence of Worcester, a contemporary writer, points out A. 1121, whereas at this year he has the election and consecration of Gregory the successor of Samuel. I do not understand, why Usher, who in his *Note* on the letter of the people, &c. of Dublin, when sending Gregory over to England, quotes the words of said continuator, yet at said letter (the 40th in the *Sylloge*) marks in the margin A. 1122. And in his *Discourse*, &c. (*chap. 8.*) he says that Gregory was sent in 1122 to be consecrated. It would seem then that he assigned Samuel's death to said year; but it will be seen that he was mistaken as to the time of Gregory's consecration.

§. vi. Meanwhile Waterford became an episcopal

see, and Malchus, now mentioned, was appointed its first bishop, having been elected by the clergy and people of that city and by the king Murtoth O'Brian, Domnald bishop of Cashel, and the prince Dermot brother to the king, which election was approved of by various bishops. Waterford, although a Danish city, was subject to Murtoth; but the inhabitants, in imitation of their brethren of Dublin, wished to be connected in spirituals with the Normans of England and with the see of Canterbury. Murtoth complied with their wish, and joined them in a letter to Anselm, (36) in which they say, that they had been for a long time blind to their spiritual welfare, but that they have at length seen the necessity of being subject to a bishop. "Therefore we (the clergy and people of the town of Waterford) and our king Murchertac (Murtoth) and the bishop Domnald, and Dermeth (Dermot) our duke, (37) brother of the king, have chosen this priest Malchus, a monk of the bishop Warchelin of Winchester, (38) very well known to us, of noble birth and morals, versed in apostolical and ecclesiastical discipline, in faith a Catholic, prudent," &c. &c. according to the qualifications required by St. Paul. They request that Anselm may ordain him bishop for them; and to show with what unanimity the election was carried, are subjoined the signatures of Murtoth king, Dermot duke, Domnald bishop, Idunan bishop of Meath, Samuel bishop of Dublin, Ferdornach bishop of the Lagenians, &c. (39)

Malchus went with this letter to England in the year 1096, (40) and was kindly received by Anselm, who having found him worthy of the episcopacy, and received his profession of obedience, consecrated him bishop at Canterbury on the 28th of December in said year, being assisted by Ralph, bishop of Chichester, and Gundulph of Rochester. (41) Malchus' profession was in these words; "I Malchus, elected

for the church of Waterford, and to be consecrated bishop by thee, Reverend father Anselm, archbishop of the holy church of Canterbury, and primate of all Britain, do promise that I will observe canonical obedience in all things to thee and to all thy successors." (42) When returned to Waterford, Malchus and his Danish flock erected the cathedral dedicated to the Holy Trinity. (43) Concerning him I find nothing further related, unless he was the same as the holy Malchus, who became bishop of Lismore, and who is so much praised by St. Bernard. But of this lower down.

(36) This letter is in Eadmer's *Histor. Nov. L. 2.* and in Usher's *Sylloge*, No. 34. It is thus headed; "*Anselmo, Dei gratia Anglorum archiepiscopo, et omnibus diocesis suae episcopis, Clerus et populus oppidi Watafordiae, cum rege Murchertacho et episcopo Domnaldo, salutem in Domino.*"

(37) Hence it appears, that Dermot was then governor of Waterford. He had submitted to his brother Murtoth in 1093, and they pledged themselves in a most solemn manner, and by the most sacred oaths, to remain henceforth in peace with each other. (Annals of Innisfallen at A. 1093.)

(38) Although Malchus had been a Benedictine monk at Winchester, he was a native of Ireland, as his contemporary Eadmer informs us, (*loc. cit.*) when speaking of his Irish electors he says, that they chose a man of their own nation named *Malchus*.

(39) In the Latin original the signatures are as follows. "*Ego Murchertacus rex Hibernia subscripsi. Ego Dermeth dux frater regis subscripsi. Ego Domnaldus episcopus subscripsi. Ego Idunan episcopus Midiæ subscripsi. Ego Samuel Dublinensis subscripsi. Ego Ferdornachus Lageniensium episcopus subscripsi.* &c. There were several other signatures, which are not come down to us. Of Idunan and Ferdornach we have seen already (*Chap. xxiv. §. 5.*); and that Domnald, *alias* Dofnald, was not, as Usher thought, (*Not. to Ep. 28. Sylloge*) Domnald of Armagh, but Domnald of Cashel (see *Chap. xxiv. §. 6.*) is evident from the circumstance that the bishops, who signed that letter, were subjects of Murtoth, as king of the southern half of Ireland.

Now Domnald of Armagh belonged to the northern half, which was then ruled by Domnald Mac-Lochlin. Harris was therefore right (*Bishops of Waterford at Malchus*) in stating, that Domnald, who subscribed the letter, was the one of Cashel. But he was egregiously mistaken (*ib.* and *Bishops of Down*, p. 195.) in making Samuel bishop of Down, instead of Dublin. The observation now made with regard to Domnald of Armagh would alone be sufficient to prove, that no bishop of Down was connected with the transactions of king Murtoth or of the southern. Harris was led astray by Spelman and Wilkins, (*Councils, &c.*) who at the signatures to the Waterford letter have *Samuel Dunensis*, instead of *Dublinensis*. They in their turn were deceived by a corrupt reading in the text of Eadmer, and which is still retained in the Benedictine edition, (*L. 2. p. 44.*) where Samuel is called *Dunnelmensis*, i. e. of Durham. Knowing that it would be ridiculous to introduce a bishop of Durham signing a letter from Waterford, they changed *Dunnelmensis* into *Dunensis*; and hence Harris has honoured Down with a bishop, which it never had. It is strange, that Wilkins did not look into Usher's *Sylloge*, where he would have found the genuine reading *Dublinensis*.

(40) This is the year marked by Ware, (at *Malchus*) and before him by Usher as the date of the letter. Spelman (*Councils, Tom. 2. p. 20.*) assigns it to 1097. But the other date is more correct. For Eadmer states, that it was received some, seemingly short, time after William Rufus had passed over to Normandy to take possession of that dutchy, which was mortgaged to him by his brother Robert. Now it is known, that William went to Normandy in 1096; and on the other hand the arrival of Malchus at Canterbury was very late in the year. Besides, Anselm was not in England in 1097 at the time of the year, in which Malchus went thither. (See Fleury, *L. 64. §. 49.*) Wilkins is exceedingly wrong (*Concil, &c. Vol. 1. p. 375.*) in affixing this letter to A. 1100. Surely he might have known from Eadmer, that it was received while William was absent from England, and consequently a considerable time before the year 1100. (See Rapin, *History &c. at William Rufus.*)

(41) Eadmer, *loc. cit.* and Ware at *Malchus*.

(42) *Sylloge* towards the end.

(43) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 29.* and Harris, *Bishops at Malchus*.

§ VII. There is extant a letter written by Anselm in 1095 to the bishops Domnald, who is called *senior*, Donat, and all the other bishops in Ireland. (44) It is plain, that Donat was Donat O'Haingly of Dublin; but it may be doubted whether Domnald was the one of Armagh or the other of Cashel. Its being a general letter to all the Irish prelates, and his calling Domnald *senior*, as if invested with a superior jurisdiction, might seem to indicate that he was the archbishop of Armagh. Yet the title *senior* may have been given by him merely with relation to the age of Domnald, that is, the one of Cashel, whom he knew to be far advanced in life, as he had corresponded with Anselm's predecessor Lanfranc since, at least, the year 1081. (45) And even did he allude to dignity, Domnald of Cashel might have been styled *senior*; for, besides his having been called archbishop, it is clear that the bishops of Cashel were at this time distinguished by, at least, an honorary precedence over the others of the southern half of Ireland, which constituted the kingdom of Murtoigh O'Brien; and hence Donald's name occurs first among the signatures of the bishops to the Waterford letter above spoken of. Add, that he was undoubtedly better known to Anselm than Domnald of Armagh; and Anselm seems to have been very little acquainted with either the ecclesiastical or civil state of Ireland, except as far as regarded Murtoigh's kingdom. In this letter he tells them, how he had been forced to accept of the archbishopric of Canterbury, but that, while endeavouring to perform his duty and correct abuses, he made himself several enemies, and was then suffering great tribulations, and that persons, who had submitted to his jurisdiction, now refuse to obey him. (46) He therefore requests the prayers of his fellow bishops of Ireland that God may re-establish harmony, bring over his enemies, and make

them all live conformably with his holy will. Next, he exhorts them, notwithstanding their living and thinking properly, to be watchful in maintaining the Church doctrine and discipline, and advises them that, if certain difficult cases relative to religious matters should occur, which could not be canonically determined among themselves, they may, according to a duty of charity, inform him of them, as it is better that they should receive counsel and comfort from him than run the risk of violating any of the commandments of God. Among the ecclesiastical cases, on which they might consult him, he specifies the consecrations of bishops, but makes no complaint relative to that or any other subject of Irish practice.

(44) This letter is the 33d in the *Sylloge*, and in Gerberon's edition of St. Anselm's works is the 8th in the Supplement to the books of epistles.

(45) *Chap. xxiv. §. 6.*

(46) Anselm alludes to the violent proceedings of the king William Rufus, against him in 1095, and the conduct of the English bishops, who in the assembly of Rockingham promised the king that they would not obey him any longer. (See Fleury, *L. 64. §. 25.*)

§. VIII. Yet, although Anselm spoke only in general terms without mentioning any particular abuse, or insinuating that the Irish bishops were guilty of any negligence, it is probable that he had an eye to certain irregularities, which, he says in two letters of his to the king Murtoth, (47) were reported to be prevalent in Ireland. After some compliments and praises of the king for his excellent administration of his kingdom, he requests of him to consider whether there be any practices followed in Ireland, which require correction, and, if there be, to exert himself to get them reformed. For, he says, it is rumoured here (in England) that marriages are dis-

solved in your kingdom without any reason, and that men exchange wives just as others would horses or whatsoever sort of commodity. It is added, that persons near akin cohabit, under the name of wedlock or otherwise, in opposition to the canonical rules. (48) He then directs him, in case he be not acquainted with the passages of the Holy scriptures, which condemn these antichristian customs, to order his bishops and clergy to announce them to him, that he may be enabled to know how to put a stop to such abuses. Then he tells him that it is reported, that in Ireland bishops are appointed without fixed sees, and consecrated by one bishop alone. These practices are, he observes, contrary to the canons, as in fact they were, with regard to bishops strictly so called. (49) He justly states, that no one ought to be made a bishop, unless there be a district and people assigned for him, which he is to govern; and that it is a wise rule, that he should be consecrated by, at least, three bishops. In what year these letters were written, I am not able to determine; but it is probable, that it was not long after Anselm had consecrated Samuel O'Haingly, through whom he had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with Murtogh's high rank, power, and character. (50) There is a short letter from Murtogh to Anselm, written after the year 1100 during the reign of Henry I. of England, in which he thanks him for his goodness in continuing to pray for him, and for his kindness in having on some occasion succoured his son in law Ernulph. (51)

In the year 1101 Murtogh convened a great assembly of the clergy and people of Ireland at Cashel, in which he made over that hitherto royal seat of the kings of Munster, and dedicated it to God and St. Patrick. (52) In 1102 he concluded a peace for twelve months with Magnus the powerful king of Norway, and of the Hebrides and Mann, who in the following year, while preparing an expedition for the

subjugation of all Ireland, was, when exploring the country, killed, together with almost all his followers, by the Irish in Ulster, and buried near St. Patrick's church in Down. (53) Murtogh was so much respected by the Northmen of Mann and the Hebrides, that upon the death of Lagmann their king, who had been a son of Godred Crouan, (54) their nobles petitioned him to send them a person of royal blood, who should govern them as king until Olave, another son of Godred, would be of age. Murtogh sent them his nephew Donald son of his brother Teige or Thady, (55) who, during his administration, neglecting the directions of his master and uncle, who had commanded him to rule that kingdom with mildness and moderation, acted in a quite opposite manner, and behaved so tyrannically, that after three years all the chiefs of the islands united against him, and made him fly to Ireland, whence he returned no more among them. (56)

(47) These two letters are the 35th and the 36th in the *Sylloge*, and in Anselm's works, *L. 3. Ep. 142—147*. They are both directed to Muriardach (Murtogh) the glorious king of Ireland, and are so like each other that the latter seems to be only an improved copy of the former, or *vice versa*. In either of them there is no reference to the other, nor any thing to show, that Anselm wrote twice to Murtogh concerning the points treated of in them. I therefore suspect, that they are only various copies of one and the same letter, which having been found among Anselm's papers, were published by Picard as distinct letters, and from him by Usher, who thought that the one which he calls *Ep. 35*. was written not to Muriardach O'Brian but to Murchertagh or Murogh, prince of Leinster, and father of the famous Dermot Mac-Murogh. But how can this be reconciled with Anselm's calling the Muriardach or Murchertach, whom he addresses, *king of Ireland*? It is true, that there was in Anselm's time a Murchertach, prince or king of Leinster, who was killed in the battle of Maigh-choba, fighting under Murtogh O'Brien then chief sovereign of Leth-mogha, in the year 1103. (*Annals of Innisfallen*

at A. 1103.) He was not, however, the father of Dermot Mac-Murrough, who was son of another Leinster prince, likewise called *Murchertach*. Usher fell into a very great mistake (*ib.*) in making any Murchertach of Leinster the same as the king Murchertach, Muriardach, or Murtoth, who took part in the election of Malchus bishop of Waterford. Surely Waterford was not subject to any Leinster prince; and nothing can be more clear than that, as we have seen, the king, who interfered in that election, together with his brother Dermot, &c. was no other than Murtoth O'Brian, who was then king of Waterford as well as of all the South of Ireland. And it is plain from the whole tenour of the letters, that the king Muriardach or Murchertach, with whom Anselm corresponded, was not a subordinate provincial king, such as those of Leinster were at that time, but a king distinguished and known by the title of *king of Ireland*, as Murtoth O'Brian certainly was in the days of St. Anselm.

(48) See what has been observed (*Chap.* xxiv. §. 12. and *Notes ib.*) concerning similar complaints made by Lanfranc.

(49) See what has been said (*ib.*) of the Irish system of *Chor-episcopi*.

(50) Usher marks A. 1100 as the date of the letter, which he reckons No. 35, without assigning any reason for it. Anselm had returned to England in the latter part of that year; but it seems much more probable that said letters or letter were written before he left England in 1097.

(51) This letter is the 37th in the *Sylloge*, and the 85th of *L.* iv. in Gerberon's edition of St. Anselm's works. In it Murtoth calls himself *Murchardachus rex Hiberniae*. The Ernulph, whom he mentions, was Ernulph or Arnulph de Montgomery, lord of Pembroke and West Wales, who, having together with his brother Robert, earl of Shrewsbury, revolted against Henry I. passed over to Ireland, where he married a daughter of king Murtoth. See more *ap.* Usher, *Not. to Ep.* 37.

(52) Annals of Innisfallen at A. 1101.

(53) *Ib. ad A.* 1102, and 1103. Ware, *Ant. cap.* 24. and the Chronicle of Mann, in which the death of Magnus is wrongly marked at A. 1098. Ware has added, without reason, a year to the dates of these transactions, thus placing the death of Magnus

in 1104 in opposition both to the annals now quoted and to those of Ulster, which have *A.* 1103.

(54) See *Not.* 66. to *Chap.* xxiv.

(55) In the Chronicle of Mann he is called *Dopnald' son of Tade*, and Murtoth's name is written *Murecard O'Brien*, king of Ireland. In the Annals of Innisfallen, (at *A.* 1105.) Donald is called son of Teige son of Turlogh O'Brian; and it is added, that he became king also of the Danes of Dublin, which at most must mean, that he was appointed governor of Dublin.

(56) Chronicle of Mann. According to one date of said chronicle Donald went to govern the Danes of the islands in the year 1075. This is evidently wrong; for in that year Murtoth was not a king, even of Munster. (See *Chap.* xxiv. §. 14.) Another date is 1089, as quoted by Usher (*Not. to Ep.* 36. *Sylloge*); but to this there is a strong objection, inasmuch as Murtoth appears not to have been styled *king of Ireland* until about 1094. (See said *Chap. ib.*) The Annals of Innisfallen have a quite different date, viz. *A.* 1105; but there is no mention in them of the death of Lagmann or the minority of Olave having been the occasion of Donald's appointment to the sovereignty of the islands. According to the Chronicle of Mann Lagmann reigned only seven years. If this be true, it would seem that his death must have been prior by several years to 1105. There is, however, so much confusion and uncertainty of dates in that chronicle, that one does not know how to arrange many of the occurrences related in it. Yet this does not affect the truth of Donald having been for some time king of the isles possessed by the Northmen.

§. ix. In the beginning of the twelfth century we find at length a bishop of Limerick, Gille, whose name has been changed into *Gillebert*, and who seems to have been abbot of Bangor. (57) There is no reason to suppose, as some have suspected, that he was a Dane; for, although Limerick was a Danish city, it might have had an Irish bishop in the same manner as Dublin and Waterford had. And it is well worth observing, that Gillebert, as I shall call him, was consecrated in Ireland, as evidently appears from a letter written to him by Anselm.

Hence it seems very probable, that he was not elected to the see of Limerick by the clergy and people of that city, as in that case he would apparently have been consecrated in England, but that, being already a bishop, he was invited by them to act as their pastor, or perhaps placed over them by Murtogh O'Brian. Gillebert had travelled before he became a bishop; for he had been acquainted and intimate with Anselm at Rouen several years before his promotion. Sometime after being placed over Limerick he wrote a letter to Anselm, (58) in which he congratulates him on his having at last induced the untameable minds of the Normans to submit to the regular decrees of the holy fathers, with regard to the election and consecration of abbots and bishops, and thanks God for his having enabled Anselm to gain this victory. Hence it may be safely inferred, that this letter was written not long after Henry I. of England had in 1106 settled his disputes with Anselm, and agreed to his terms concerning the investitures, &c.; (59) and we may also conclude, that Gillebert was bishop of Limerick in said year 1106, and perhaps a year or two earlier. Gillebert adds, that he sends him as a token of his attachment, a little present of twenty-five small pearls (of the sort, I suppose, found in Ireland) and requests that he will not be unmindful of him in his prayers. Anselm replied by the above mentioned letter, (60) thanking him for his congratulation and present, and reminding him of their mutual affection since they had known each other at Rouen. He says that, as he *now knows* of Gillebert's having been raised to the episcopal dignity in Ireland, (61) he makes bold to request of him, and even, as it appeared necessary, to advise him to exert himself with earnestness towards correcting and extirpating, as far as he is able, whatever may be wrong in that country, and to induce, as well as he can, his king, the other bishops, and whomso-

ever he may persuade to cooperate with him in that work, and in planting and promoting good practices and morals. Anselm seems here to allude to some reformation of certain Irish ecclesiastical practices, and to the introduction of those then followed at Rome.

(57) In the prologue *De usu ecclesiasticæ* (No. 30 in the *Sylloge*) he calls himself *Gille*. Keating (Book 2.) and Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 563.) speaks of him by the name of *Gilla-Espuic*. Yet he sometimes assumed the name *Gillebertus*, latinized from *Gillebert*, which he probably received from the Danes, among whom he lived. That *Gille* had been abbot of Bangor may be deduced from his being called *successor of Congell* by Keating, as quoted by Gratianus Lucius, *i. e.* Lynch, (*Cambr. Evers.* p. 83.) who thought, and indeed justly, that this must have been the same as *abbot of Bangor*. Peter Walsh (*Prospect, &c.* p. 246) and Archdall (at *Bangor*) speak of him in like manner. I do not find in the corrupt English translation of Keating the title of *successor of Congell* given to *Gille*; but the author of it has omitted or altered many parts of the work.

(58) This letter is the 31st in the *Sylloge*, and the 86th of *L. 4. Ep.* in Gerberon's edition of St. Anselm's works. It is headed, *Gillebertus by the mercy of God bishop of Limerick, Lunicensis episcopus, &c.* Usher observes, that in various MSS. *Gillebert* is called *Lunicensis*, *Lunnicensis*, or *Lumnicensis* from *Lumneach* the Irish name of Limerick.

(59) See Fleury, *L. 65. §. 46.* Usher marks in the margin at this letter *about A. 1094*; but Anselm's disputes with the English kings had scarcely begun in 1094, nor did he obtain any victory until several years later. Usher was quite mistaken as to the times of *Gillebert*. Thus at the Prologue, (No. 30) which he drew up when bishop of Limerick, Usher marks *A. 1090*, although in all probability *Gillebert* was not bishop there for 14 or 15 years after that time. Ware was cautious in this respect; for, without assigning the time of *Gillebert's* accession, he merely says that he flourished in 1110.

(60) Anselm's letter is at No. 32 in the *Sylloge*, and in his

works, *Ep. L. 3. No. 143*, addressed to Gillebert *Lunicensi episcopo*.

(61) As this letter was written after Anselm had settled his disputes with Henry I. and returned to England late in 1106, it follows that he had not heard of Gillebert's promotion until about that time. Hence it is clear, that it did not take place until after Anselm's second departure from England in 1103; for, if it had, Anselm would certainly have been apprized of it before his return. It is probable that Gillebert became bishop of Limerick about 1105. Here I may observe, that some fabulous or shallow writers have confounded him with a Gillebart or Gislebert, surnamed *Crispinus*, who had been a monk with Anselm in the monastery of Bee in Normandy. But, as Usher observes (*Not. ad No. 31.*) that Gislebert never became a bishop, having died abbot of Westminster, where he was buried. Ledwich, although he had Usher's *Sylloge* before his eyes, and followed his mistakes as to Gillebert's letter to Anselm having been written in 1094, and his tract on the Church in 1090, yet (*Antiq. &c. p. 433*) abandons him, and makes Gillebert the same as Gislebert, merely for the purpose of insinuating that he was an Ostman, as he pretends. Such is the Doctor's consistency! He even quotes Ware to show, that Gillebert was an Ostman, while Ware says nothing more than that he did not know whether he were an Irishman or an Ostman.

§. x. In fact Gillebert, subsequently to his having received this letter, signalized his zeal by endeavouring to bring all the practices, liturgical, and connected with the Church service, of which there was a great variety in Ireland, to one uniform system conformable to that of the particular church of Rome. Comprising these matters under the general name of *ecclesiastical order*, he wrote a tract entitled *De usu ecclesiastico*, but at what time I am not able to ascertain, except that there can be no doubt of his having composed it after the exhortation he got from Anselm, who, had it been written sooner, would have alluded to it in his letter, instead of encouraging him as one who had not yet acted vigour-

ously, to set about doing something. (62) It was written before Gillebert became apostolical legate, as it contains not the least hint relative to any such dignity, and in the prologue, addressed to the bishops and priests of all Ireland, he assumes no other title than that of the *lowest of prelates Gille of Limerick*. (63) He tells them, that at the request and by the command of many of them he has endeavoured to write out the canonical custom in saying the Hours, and in performing the offices of the whole *ecclesiastical order*, for the purpose of procuring that the various and schismatical orders, with which almost all Ireland is bewildered, may yield to the one Catholic and Roman office. For what, he says, can be more unbecoming or schismatical than that a very learned person of one order should be like an idiot or a layman in a church, where a different one is followed? Therefore whoever professes himself a member of the Catholic church, in the same manner as he is joined in the body by one faith, hope, and charity, so is he commanded to praise God with his mouth and in the (same) order with the other members of the Church. To this he applies with great learning the words of St. Paul, (*Rom. xv. 6.*) *That with one accord and one mouth you may glorify God*. As then, he continues, the division of languages caused by pride was brought to unity in the humility of the Apostles, so the confusion of orders, that has arisen from negligence and presumption, is through your exertions and humility to make way for the consecrated rule of the Roman church. Thus he goes on arguing, as if the unity of faith required also a uniformity of ritual practices.

(62) It is strange that Usher, although otherwise wrong in his dates, could have made the writing of this tract prior to that of the letter to Anselm and of Anselm's answer.

(63) *Episcopis et presbyteris totius Hiberniae infimus praesu-*

lum Gille Lunicensis in Christo salutem. Pitts, in his *Writers of England*, attributes this tract to a Gilla bishop of Lincoln, a man, who, as Usher remarks, (*Not. to No. 30.*) never existed.

§. XI. Gillebert, although he knew something of these exterior matters, was a very shallow theologian. Gregory the great was of a quite different way of thinking on these subjects, as we see from his instructions to the monk Augustin; and it is universally allowed not only in theory, but by the actual and still subsisting variety of liturgies and offices in the Catholic church, that the great maxim of ecclesiastical unity is not at all affected by such variety. (64) At a very ancient and one of the best periods of the Irish church a diversity of liturgies and rules was added to those introduced by St. Patrick; (65) but it was not supposed, that they implied any the least innovation in religion or essential discipline. In the course of time this diversity was carried to a much greater extent; which was undoubtedly an inconvenience, particularly in such a small country as Ireland. It seems to have been augmented in proportion to the introduction of new monastic rules, of which, notwithstanding their being all founded on one original plan, there was a considerable number. (66) Such a multiplicity of different offices required some limitation; but Gillebert was highly mistaken in calling them *schismatical*, (67) and equally so in the wretched arguments adduced by him. In his zeal for uniformity he fixed upon the peculiar order and office, which is strictly called *Roman*, and of which he seems to speak as if it were the only Catholic one, not knowing that there were many others full as catholic then and since in existence and actually followed. (68) This he strove to get substituted for the divers orders and offices used in Ireland, in imitation of similar attempts made about those times in other countries. (69) It is probable, that Gillebert was encouraged

in his proceedings by Anselm, although it can scarcely be supposed, that Anselm supplied him with his bad arguments. What is become of his book or treatise *De usu ecclesiastico*, which seems to have been little else than a copy of the Roman liturgy and office, I am not able to tell; for it must not be confounded with the tract, which he wrote under the title of *De statu Ecclesiae*, and which, it seems, he prefixed to it. (70) Gillebert did not succeed, as will be seen lower down, at least to any considerable degree, in setting aside the Irish Offices.

(64) See, among other parts of this history where I had occasion to touch on this point, *Chap. i. §. 5.*

(65) See *Chap. x. §. 4.* (66) See *Not. 58 to Chap. x.*

(67) Alemand (*Introd. à l'Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, p. 14.*) justly censures Gillebert for his unfounded and ignorant manner of speaking of the Irish offices, and observes that a similar variety still prevails, particularly among the religious orders, such as the Carthusians, Benedictines, Dominicans, and Carmelites, whose masses and offices differ from each other and from those of the secular clergy.

(68) Were Gillebert now alive and to go to Rome, he would find in that very city a great number of clergymen observing liturgies and offices different, and some of them very much so, from the Roman.

(69) Pope Gregory VII. was very anxious to introduce the Roman office into the Western churches. On this point he was successful in some parts of Spain. (See Fleury, *L. 63. §. 6.*)

(70) Towards the end of the prologue *De usu*, &c. Gillebert makes mention of a painted image of the Church, which he had made. The tract entitled *De statu Ecclesiae*, which Usher has placed after the prologue, begins with a description of this image, and then proceeds to an account of the various classes of the members of the Church, both lay and ecclesiastical. It has the gradations of bishops, archbishops, primates, and popes, who are placed over all the others. Then we find the orders of ostiarii, lectors, exorcists, acolythes, subdeacons, deacons, and priests, and

their various powers and duties. In short it is a summary of the general Canon law of those times, mixed with some observations on ecclesiastical dresses and church utensils and ornaments. Speaking of the priest's duty to pray, Gillebert says that it is chiefly fulfilled in celebrating the Hours and Mass, of which however, he adds, as it cannot be done briefly, we shall treat in the sequel. Here he alludes to the treatise, *De usu ecclesiastico*, which was to contain the series of the whole divine office, &c. a series not to be found in the tract *De statu Ecclesiae*. Hence Harris was wrong (*Writers at Gille*) in confounding them into one treatise, and still more wrong (*Bishops of Limerick*) in saying, that "it contains the different forms of liturgies, and the various ways of celebrating divine service in the church of Ireland;" for the tract, *De statu Ecclesiae*, which he thought the same as the other, contains no such things, nor any liturgy whatsoever. And as to what was contained in the book *De usu ecclesiastico*, we may be sure, that they were not Irish liturgies, but what Gillebert styles the *canonical custom*.

§ XII. Domnald Mac-Amalgaid was, as already stated (71) succeeded in the see of Armagh by Celsus in the year 1105. Celsus, whose real name was *Ceallach* or *Kellach*, was a grandson of the archbishop Moeliosa, Domnald's predecessor, by his son Aedh or Aidus, and accordingly was a member of that family, which had for so great a lapse of time usurped the possession of that great see. (72) But, although of that family, he was a real bishop, having been actually consecrated on the 23d of September in said year, (73) and before he had reached the canonical age, being then only about 26 years old. (74) He is said to have been very learned, and it is certain that he was gifted with a truly ecclesiastical spirit, and was a most zealous, laborious, and holy prelate. He was not married, as some persons have foolishly thrown out; whereas, on the contrary, he exerted himself most strenuously to put an effectual stop to the hereditary succession, by which the see of Armagh had been go griev-

ously injured, and, among many other regulations, re-established by his example and proceedings the canonical system of celibacy, which had been broken through by eight of his predecessors, who, although laymen, got themselves called archbishops. (75) St. Bernard tells us, that the unhappy state, to which the church of Armagh had been reduced by such enormous abuses, affected, more or less, every other part of Ireland, and a great dissolution of ecclesiastical discipline, together with a neglect of religion, overspread the land. Barbarism, he adds, amounting to a sort of paganism, had been introduced instead of Christian practices; and bishops were changed and multiplied without order or regularity according to the mere pleasure of the Armagh metropolitan, so that almost every church had a bishop of its own. (76) Whatsoever or how far extended were those abuses, Celsus endeavoured to correct them as far as he was able, and by his exemplary conduct, charity, preaching, erecting of churches, lying down rules of discipline and morality for the clergy and people, and other pastoral exertions, greatly contributed to bring about a better order of things. (77) The first act of his, which I find specially recorded, was a visitation of Ulster in 1106, which seems to have been as much of a temporal as of a spiritual nature, that is, for the purpose of receiving the dues, that used to be paid to the see of Armagh. In said year he made a similar visitation throughout Munster, where he appears to have been well received, as, besides the usual contributions according to the so called *Law of St. Patrick*, many presents were made to him. (78) In the same year died Coencomrach O'Boigill, who had been suffragan bishop to Domnald. (79)

(71) §. 4.

(72) I cannot here pass by a most glaring instance of Ledwich's

ignorance, not to call it worse, of Irish history. At p. 435 of his rhapsody, while blundering about Domnald of Armagh, he says that the see was then held by the Ostmen. Lest the reader may doubt of his having uttered such a monstrous assertion, I shall give his words; "*The Ostmen, who now possessed the see, either had embraced the tenets of the Irish, or were married, or held it by hereditary right.*" Thus then the family, which usurped and occupied that see for about 200 years, (see *Chap. xxii. §. 13.*) was not Irish but Ostmannic or Danish, and accordingly the Muredachs, Dubdalethes, Maelmurrys, Amalguids, Moeliosas, Domnalds, Cellachs, &c. were Ostmen, Northmen, or Danes. Would not St. Bernard, who inveighs so much against that family, have told us so, were it true? Would not our annalists and historians, were it merely for the honour of Armagh and of the Irish nation, have stated that those usurpers were foreigners? Would the Irish sovereigns of that period Brian Boromhe, Mael-seachlin, Turlogh, Murtoth, Mac-Lochlin, &c. have allowed Ostmen or Danes to rule the primatial see of Ireland, and at a time when the power of said Ostmen was crushed and they were subject to Irish kings and governors? Why did not the Danes of Dublin and Waterford direct their bishops elect to Armagh instead of to Canterbury, if that see was then held by the Ostmen? Ledwich himself tells us soon after, that the Armachians were very angry with the Danes of Dublin for applying on such occasions to the archbishops of Canterbury. This shameful fabrication is on a par with his fable, which he often repeats, of Christian Ostmen having been in possession of Armagh in the ninth century, and of their having introduced St. Patrick into Ireland. (See *Chap. ii. §. 16.*) It is wonderful, that a man so profoundly ignorant of the history of this country has dared to write a book styled its *Antiquities*. It is in fact a romance crammed with misrepresentations, and circumstances that never occurred. There is no part of Europe except Ireland, where a person would have the effrontery to publish such a work; but Ledwich relied on the credulity of the bulk of his Irish readers, who know something of every ancient history, excepting that of their own country.

(73) *Tr. Th. p. 299.* Ware *Bishops at Celsus.*

(74) Celsus was in the 50th year of his age, when he died on the 1st of April *A. D.* 1129. Hence it follows, that, when con-

secrated, he was, at most, only 26 years old. Harris (*Bishops at Celsus*) gives him near 27 years; but, following Ware, he erroneously supposed that his consecration took place in 1106. His being consecrated so young was owing to the influence of his family, which had marked him out as successor to Donnald.

(75) St. Bernard, who says of Celsus (*Vit. S. Malach. cap. 7.*) that he was *vir bonus et timoratus*, relates, as we have seen (*Chap. xxii. §. 13.*), that eight lay married men, not in holy orders, had preceded him in the possession of the see, and then states how much grieved Celsus was at the abuses, that followed from that dreadful system, and how he laboured to prevent the recurrence of it. Hence it is as clear as day light, that Celsus was not married; and hence also it is plain, that the Irish bishops were not allowed to have wives. For, if they were, why did not those eight so called archbishops take holy orders? The fable of Celsus having been married originated with Hanmer, who (*Chronicle, &c. p. 203. new ed.*) says, that "he was a married man, and died of great age, and lyeth buried with his wife and children in the said church," *viz.* of Armagh. In these few words there are three lies! Celsus did not die of great age; for he was not fifty years old when he died. 2. He was not, as will be seen, buried at Armagh but at Lismore. 3. He had neither a wife nor children. Why did not Hanmer give us the names of some of those children? Harris observes, (*Bishops at Celsus*) that he does not know on what authority Hanmer has made Celsus a married man. The fact is, that he had no authority whatsoever, except perhaps his having misrepresented some words of St. Bernard, who (*ib.*) makes mention of a vision, in which, when Celsus was sick, there appeared to St. Malachy a tall reverend looking woman, who was called Celsus's wife, and who presented Malachy with a pastoral staff exactly like that, which belonged to Celsus. It is evident, that this female figure was an emblem of the church of Armagh, the spiritual spouse of Celsus, according to a very usual ecclesiastical phrase, and as a few lines higher up St. Bernard introduces St. Malachy giving the name of *spouse* to his church of Connor. Hanmer might have met with this passage, and in his stupidity transformed the see of Armagh into a real woman. But where did he find the children! Usher in his juvenile tract on *Corbes, &c.* published in the *Collectan. de rebus Hib. vol. 1.* must have taken

from Hanmer what he has about Celsus having been married; but he was afterwards better informed, and accordingly in his *Discourse on the religion, &c. (chap. 5.)*, where he is inquiring whether the clergy were in ancient times allowed to marry, has not a word about Celsus. But the doughty Dr. Ledwich still keeps up this fable, and has even added to the lies of Hanmer. He tells us, (*p.* 438) that Celsus “though well affected to Rome, could not be prevailed on to separate during his life from his wife and children.” Good God! what patience is requisite to read such balderdash! Where did the Dr. find, that any one ever asked Celsus to quit his wife and children? Or how could he have been solicited to separate from persons, that were not in existence?

(76) St. Bernard, *ib.* He had got his information chiefly from Ireland, as appears from his preface; but his Irish correspondents seem to have given too high a colouring to the abuses that prevailed, and to have made them more diffused throughout Ireland than they really were. That there was a great relaxation of discipline and decay of religion in some parts of Ulster is but too clear from the description, which he gives of the state of the diocese of Connor, before St. Malachy undertook the care of it; but from St. Bernard’s own statement it is evident, as will be seen elsewhere, that other parts of Ireland were not by any means so much infected with that gangrene. The Irish bishops, of whom St. Anselm had some knowledge, *viz.* those of the Southern half or Murtoth O’Brian’s kingdom (for those of the North and the state of that portion seem to have been almost unknown to him) are praised by him as religious, good, and wise men in his letter to Domnald, &c. (See above §.7.) The beginning of the letter shows in what esteem he held them; “*Odorem religionis vestrae plurimis indicibus agnoscens, calamitates quas patior decrevi potissimum vobis aperire; ut, quanto vicinius assistitis creatori, tanto familiarius angustias meas in conspectu ejus valeatis indicare, et indicantes compassionis gemitibus ipsius misericordiam mihi impetrare.*” And towards the end of it he says; “*Praeterea, quamquam recte viventem recteque sapientem, pastoralis sollicitudine fraternitatem vestram,*” &c. And lower down; “*Iterum, charissimi, rogamus vos; orate pro nobis, erigite nos de tribulationibus nostris manu vestrae orationis, piis fletibus pulsantes aures clementiae*

Dei." Where such bishops presided, it was impossible that barbarism, amounting to a sort of paganism, could prevail. This letter was written in 1095 during the very height of the power of the pseudo-archbishops of Armagh, and only ten years before the accession of the good bishop Celsus. And about eleven or twelve years later writing to Gillebert of Limerick (above §. 9.) he makes no complaint as to any great abuses in Ireland, and speaks of Gillebert's fellow bishops as persons, whom he should apply to for forwarding his views. Gillebert himself in his prologue *De usu ecclesiastico* addresses those fellow bishops in a style of the greatest respect as pious and worthy persons. It is therefore certain, that St. Bernard's general complaint or invective was not applicable to all Ireland nor even to one half of it, although it was true as to the diocese of Connor and, I dare say, to some adjoining parts. He refers to what he had written before concerning that diocese, as explanatory of the view he gives of all Ireland; but it did not follow that, because matters were bad enough in Connor, they were so every where else. He states as an instance of what he calls *paganism* the multiplication of bishops, as a thing unheard of since the very beginning of christianity. St. Bernard was not aware, that this was owing to the Irish system of *chorepiscopi*. Yet I allow, that it was carried too far. At any rate it was not *paganism*, and he was mistaken in supposing that the multiplying of bishops was a circumstance unheard of. For it is well known, that in the earlier times of the church a bishop was placed in every town, where there was a considerable number of faithful, (see Fleury, *Instit. au Dr. Eccl. Part 1. ch. 3.*) so that what St. Bernard says of Ireland, viz. *that almost every church had a bishop of its own*, was actually followed; whereas there was usually in those times only one church in each town. Nor was there any law against fixing bishops in small cities or towns, prior to one of the Council of Sardica, which, by the bye, was not generally observed; for long after it we find bishops in numbers of small places in the Eastern countries, Africa, &c. and we meet with divisions of bishoprics into smaller ones. (See Bingham, *Book II. chap. 12.*) On the whole, notwithstanding the great corruption of discipline, &c. in some parts of Ireland, the greatest portion of the Irish church was, even before the times of Celsus and St. Malachy, as pure as, I believe, any other national church of that period;

which, if necessary, might be shown from St. Bernard's own works, and even from his above mentioned preface.

As St. Bernard had confined his severe remarks on the ecclesiastical state of Ireland to those times, it was not fair in Dr. Milner to apply them in a pceevish note of his against the Irish nation (*Inquiry, alias Tour in Ireland, Additional Notes, p. 50.*) to a later period, viz. that just prior to the settlement of the English in Ireland, which was later by above 60 years than the accssion of Celsus, and by near 50 than when St. Malachy had set about reforming the diocese of Connor. Had the Doctor been more cool on this subject, he could have learned from St. Bernard, that a great change was brought about by those two holy prelates; and, had he thought it worth his while to look into our ecclesiastical history, he would have found that, through not only their exertions, but likewise of others, who came after them, such as Gelasius of Armagh, &c. &c. the Irish church was, on the arrival of the English, in a very different state from what St. Bernard represents it to have been in about the beginning of the 12th century. Dr. Milner ought to have distinguished the times so as not to make a reader think, that St. Bernard was describing the Irish church as it stood when the English came over; for surely he cannot but know, that the saint was dead many years prior to that event. But he throws different periods into one; and after pronouncing that the Irish were then a motley group of Irish, Scots, and Ostmen or Scandinavians (pray what were then the English? Saxons, Danes, Normans, French, &c.) he goes so far as to say, that in spite even of St. Malachy and Cardinal Paparo, the state of religion and morality was amongst them in the most frightful disorder. The sequel of this work will show, that this is an unfounded assertion; and Dr. Milner would do well not to meddle again with Irish history, until he shall have learned something more about it. It will not do to tell us, as he does in said note, that "most of the writers, who enlighten Ireland at the present day in religious as well as in profane literature, are Englishmen." Be it so and let Dr. Milner be one of them; but certainly he has not enlightened us as to this part of either our civil or ecclesiastical history.

(77) See *Tr. Th.* p. 300.

(78) *Ib.* p. 299.

(79) *Ib.* See above §. 4.

§. XIII. In the year 1111 Celsus attended at the great synod, or rather national convention, of Fiadh-mac-Aengussa, together with Moelmurry O'Dunain, archbishop of Cashel, fifty other bishops, three hundred priests, and three thousand persons of the clerical order; besides Murtoth O'Brian, king of Lethmogha and the nobles of his kingdom; and in which many regulations were made for the conduct of the clergy and people. (80) This synod is called by some writers that of Usneach, which if it be correct, Fiadh-mac-Aengussa was situated near the famous hill of Usney in the now county of Westmeath. (81) Yet I find them distinguished as two distinct synods, and that of Usneach represented as held for the purpose of dividing the parishes of Meath between the sees of Clonmacnois and Clonard. It is, however, stated to have been held in the same year; but neither Murtoth O'Brian, nor Celsus, nor Moelmurry, are mentioned as having been present at it. (82) From Moelmurry O'Dunain being called *archbishop* in the accounts of the synod of Fiadh-mac-Aengussa it appears, that the see of Cashel was by this time generally recognized as metropolitan. Moelmurry's predecessor Domnald O'Heine had been honoured with that title, and enjoyed a certain precedence over the other bishops of the southern half of Ireland. (83) This prerogative was ratified and enlarged by Celsus either in that synod or prior to it, so that Cashel became in reality a truly archiepiscopal and metropolitan see, yet with this condition that it was to be subordinate to the primatial one of Armagh. (84) This act of Celsus was afterwards confirmed by Pope Innocent II. and thus there were in Ireland two archbishops invested with full canonical jurisdiction, *viz.* the primate, who reserved to himself the Northern half and the primatial rights over all Ireland; and the archbishop of Cashel, who was charged with the care of the Southern half.

After the synod of Fiadh-mac-Aengussa another

was held at Rath-Breasail, over which presided Gille or Gillebert, bishop of Limerick and then apostolical legate in Ireland. (85) The precise year of this synod I cannot ascertain ; but it must have been later than is commonly supposed, and, on comparing various circumstances, it appears to me that it was about A. D. 1118. (86) As Gillebert was at this time apostolical legate, he must have received his appointment from Pope Pascal II. as appears most probable, or perhaps from Gelasius II. (87) Our writers do not tell us where Rath-Breasail was situated ; but, if we are to judge from the name, I should think it was in the district anciently called Hy-Bressail, now Clanbrassil in the county of Armagh, or in the other Hy-Bressail, that formed part of Hy-falgia (the ancient Offaly) in Leinster. (88)

(80) *Ib.* from the 4 Masters. The true date of this synod was not, as Ware (*Bishops at Celsus*) in his usual mode of adding a year insinuates, 1112, but 1111, as have also the Annals of Innisfallen, which give the following account of it. “ A. 1111. “ A general convention of the noblemen of Ireland, both clergy and “ laity, was held by Murtogh O'Brian, monarch of Ireland, at “ Fiadh-Aengussa, wherein were assembled the nobility of Mun- “ ster, and Maolmuire O'Dunain archbishop of Ireland, and Ceal- “ lach (Celsus) Mac-Aodha successor of St. Patrick—the num- “ ber of men in holy orders, who were at that convention, 58 “ bishops, 317 priests, 160 deacons, and a vast number of “ clergy of inferior degree ; and in that synod many regulations “ were made.” Keating (*Book 2. p. 100. Dublin ed.*) also attributes the summoning of this synod to Murtogh O'Brian, and calls Maolmuire O'Dunain *archbishop*, but differs from the annals as to the number of clergymen present. Their calling Maolmuire *archbishop of Ireland* must be understood relatively to that part of it, which formed Murtogh's kingdom, *viz.* Leth-mogha. The Annals of Connaught, quoted by Ware, (*ib.*) give him the title of *archbishop of Cashel* ; and the 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 308.*) style him *archbishop of Munster*. Henry of Marleburgh,

whose Annals, or rather part of them, are at the end of Hammer's chronicle, places at said year a great council of bishops, &c. convened, he says, by Maurice Mac-Lochlin king of Ireland. He confounded this Maurice, *i. e.* Murchertach, or Murtoth who did not become king of Ireland until many years later, with Murtoth O'Brian. In like manner they have been confounded by the Bollandists, who (at *Celsus 6th April*) misunderstanding Colgan make Murtoth O'Brian, king of the South, a nephew of Domnald Mac-Lochlin the king of the North.

(81) Colgan says (*Tr. Th. p. 299.*) that in the margin of the 4 Masters the synod of Fiadh-mac-Aengussa is called that of Usneach. Harris has in a note (*Bishops at Celsus*); "Fiadh-mac-Aengussa, as much as to say, the land or the wood of the son of Aengus, was in very ancient times called *Coendruim*, and afterwards *Usneach*. It is now called the hill of Usney, and stands in the barony of Rathconrath, and county of Westmeath, about six miles S. W. of Mullingar."

(82) Immediately after the account of the synod of Fiadh-mac-Aengussa the Annals of Innisfallen add; "In the same year the great synod of Usneach was also held; wherein the parishes of Meath were equally divided between the bishops of Clonmacnois and Clonard.—There attended at these regulations in that synod Morogh O'Maolseachlain, Eocha O'Kelly, and the clergy of the religious house of St. Kieran (Clonmacnois), together with Giolla-Criost O'Maoillean abbot of Clonmacnois."

(83) See *Chap. xxiv. §. 6.* and above *§. 7.* Keating says, (*B. 2. p. 6.*) that the archbishop of Cashel used to be called archbishop of Lethe-mogha, the southern half. But, as far as I can judge, no bishop of that see was thus distinguished until the reign of Murtoth O'Brian, or, at the earliest, of his father Turlogh.

(84) St. Bernard, having observed (*Vit. S. Mal. cap. 7.*) that, owing to the reverence and honour, in which the memory of St. Patrick as apostle of Ireland was held, all the bishops, priests, and the whole body of the Irish clergy, &c. acknowledged the metropolitan of Armagh as their chief superior, says (*cap. 10.*) that "there was another metropolical see, which Celsus had newly appointed, yet subject to the first see, and to its archbishop as primate." The phrase *appointed* is not in opposition to what has been said of the bishops of Cashel having been styled

archbishops, before Celsus not only confirmed that title, but invested them with more than honorary jurisdiction, and thus *appointed* Cashel a truly archiepiscopal see. That Cashel was the see alluded to by St. Bernard, it would be silly to call in question. Its bishop is the only one, who, besides the primate, is called *archbishop* in the account of the synod of Fiadh-mac-Aengussa and in other documents of those times. Harris need not have been so cautious as he was, (*Bishops at St. Malachy*) where he says that the new metropolis spoken of by St. Bernard is *supposed* to be Cashel. He refers to Mac-Mahon's *Jus Primat. Armach*. Now Mac-Mahon not only supposes it, but asserts it as an undoubted fact. Thus at No. 7 he writes; “*novam metropolim — patet fuisse Casseliensem ex vita S. Christiani Lismorensis et ex numerosa synodo (Fiadh-mac-Aengussa) &c.* (See also *ib.* Nos. 62, and 201.) He seems to say, that Celsus transferred the metropolitical power from Emly to Cashel; but whatever prerogative Emly had enjoyed, and which, as I have already observed more than once, was never truly metropolitical, it had lost it before Celsus' time, as is clear from what we have seen concerning Domnald O'Heine.

(85) Keating, *History*, &c. B. 2. p. 100. Gratianus Lucius (Lynch) thought, (*Cambr. Evers. p. 37.*) that this synod was the same as that of Fiadh-mac-Aengussa, and strives to prove it from the Annals of Innisfallen, which, as far as I can discover, make no mention of Rathbreasail, or, as he calls it, *Mughbrassel*. He may perhaps have found in some copy of said annals a marginal note indicating that the synod was called by both names; but Keating, who treats of both those synods, (*ib.*) expressly distinguishes them; and from his account of that of Rathbreasail, which he took from the Book of Clonenagh, it is evident that they were different assemblies. Besides, were they one and the same, would he have omitted in his account of that of Fiadh-mac-Aengussa the name of Gille, who undoubtedly presided over the synod of Rathbreasail?

(86) Ware (*Bishops at Gille*) says, that it was held in 1110. In this case it should have been prior to that of Fiadh-mac-Aengussa, which sat in 1111. But this cannot accord with what will be soon seen concerning the number of Irish bishops having been reduced by a decree of the synod of Rathbreasail much below

that of fifty or more, who attended at Fiadh-mac-Aengussa. Lynch says, (*loc. cit.*) that Keating assigns it to 1110; and I believe that it was from him that Ware took this date. But in the English translation of Keating's history the year marked for it is 1115. Whichsoever of these dates were the original one of Keating, whose notation of years is frequently wrong, we need not inquire; for neither of them is correct. In fact, the synod of Rathbreasail could not have been held before 1118, whereas it was attended by Moeliosa, archbishop of Cashel, the successor of Moelmurry O'Dunain, who died in the latter end of 1117. On the other hand it could not have been later than the early part of 1119, if it be true, as Keating says, that it was summoned in the reign of Murtoth O'Brian, who died on the 13th of March in said year. (See *Chap. xxiv. §. 14.*) What Keating calls the *reign of Murtoth* must be understood of his life; for Murtoth had been dispossessed of the throne in 1116, (*ib.*) and accordingly before the meeting of that assembly.

(87) Neither St. Bernard who makes mention (*Vit. S. Mal. cap. 7 and 11.*) of Gillebert as apostolical legate, nor Keating, who gives him that title, when treating of the synod of Rathbreasail, nor any of our historians, as far as I can discover, has marked the time of his being raised to that office. It could not have been before the pontificate of Pascal II. which began in 1099, whereas Gillebert was not a bishop at that time. (Above §. 9.) Pascal lived until January in 1118, and might have been acquainted with Gillebert, who had travelled in his younger days, or perhaps was informed of his character by St. Anselm. It is much more probable that Gillebert was appointed legate by him than by his successor Gelasius II. whose troublesome pontificate did not last quite a year.

(88) See for the Hy-Bressail in Co. Armagh *AA. SS. p. 62.* and *Tr. Th. p. 293*; and for the other Harris *Antiq. ch. 7 at Hy-falgia*. According to Lynch's system Rathbreasail would have been in Westmeath; but, as it is unfounded, (above *Not. 85.*) so is also this consequence.

§. xiv. This synod was attended, like that of Fiadh-mac-Aengussa, not only by bishops and clergymen of various ranks, but likewise by distinguished

laymen from, it seems, all parts of Ireland. The only names, which I find recorded, of its members are those of Celsus of Armagh and Moeliosa (*servant of Jesus*) Mac-Ainmhire, *alias* O'Foghlada, archbishop of Cashel, and successor of Moelmurry O'Dunain, who died at Clonard in the 77th year of his age, on the 24th of December *A.D.* 1117, having left a great reputation for wisdom, virtue, and liberality to the poor. (89) The synod was occupied chiefly in forming a regular division of dioceses throughout Ireland, and in fixing their boundaries. It was decreed that, exclusive of Dublin, which was left subject to Canterbury, there should be 24 dioceses, 12 in Leth-cuin subject to the archbishop of Armagh, and 12 others in Leth-mogha subject to the archbishop of Cashel. Of the former, five were in Ulster, *viz.* Clogher, Ardsrath, Derry, Connor, Down; five in Connaught, *viz.* Tuam, Clonfert, Cong, Killala, Ard-carn; and two in Meath, which by order of this synod were to be considered as the only fixed sees for that territory, Duleek and Clonard, (90) Of the twelve sees of Leth-mogha besides Cashel, were in Munster, *viz.* Lismore, or Waterford, Cork, Rath-maighe Deisgirt, Limerick, Killaloe, Emly; (91) and five in Leinster, *viz.* Kilkenny, (92) Leighlin, Kildare, Glendaloch, and Ferns. On looking over the boundaries marked for those dioceses, a very great part of which can scarcely be pointed out at present on account of the changes of names, it is clear that the synod intended, besides reducing the number of sees, to render all the dioceses of Ireland nearly of equal extent; but it did not succeed, at least to any considerable degree in reducing the number; whereas we find at the time of the council of Kells in 1152 many more sees than those here laid down, and, on the other hand, some of said 24 sees not even spoken of, as if, notwithstanding the decree of Rathbreasail, they had either not been established or had in a very short time ceased to exist. (93) Another important regulation was, that

by an act of “this convention the revenues of the clergy and the Church lands were confirmed to the several bishops of Ireland for their maintenance and support of the episcopal character; which lands were to be exempted from tribute and chief rents and other public contributions, and so remain in that state of freedom and independency for ever.” (94) It is probable that some other decrees were enacted by this assembly; but, as far as I know, there remains no account of them. Its proceedings concluded with the following declaration: “*The blessing of God Almighty, and of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of the representer of St. Peter’s successor, the legate Giolla-Aspuic bishop of Limerick, and of Ceallach St. Patrick’s successor, primate of Ireland, and of Maoil-Iosa mac-Ainmhire archbishop of Cashel, and of all the bishops, gentry, and clergy in this holy synod of Rathbreasail light and remain upon every one, that shall approve, ratify, and observe these ordinances: and, on the other side, their curses on the infringers of them.*” (95)

(89) Annals of Innisfallen at A. 1117 and 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. p.* 308. Ware (*Archbishops of Cashel*) has in his usual manner, and without necessity, changed 1117 into 1118. I am surprised at his saying, (*ib.*) that Moeliosa O’Foghlada is not called *archbishop*; whereas not only the 4 Masters (*ib.*) expressly style him *archbishop of Cashel*, but likewise Keating gives him the same title, and the Annals of Innisfallen (at A. 1131) call him *archbishop of Munster*. He was the son of one Ainmhire of a family surnamed O’Foghlada.

(90) Keating *ib.* Lynch in his endeavours to show, that the synod of Rathbreasil was the same as that of Fiadh-mac-Aengussa or Usneach, refers to this regulation, by which two sees were fixed for Meath, setting aside some others, which it had before. But he did not consider, that there was a material difference between what passed at Usneach, and the decree of Rathbreasil. The two sees mentioned in the proceedings of Usneach were, as

we have just seen, (§. 13.) Clonmacnois and Clonard, whereas those named and established by the regulation of Rathbreasil were Duleek and Clonard.

(91) In Keating's enumeration of the sees of Leth-mogha, the names of which he gives twice, there is a contradiction, owing to his wretched translator. At first this bungler reckons seven of them in Munster, besides Cashel, making Rathmaighe and Deisgirt two distinct ones. Afterwards, when marking the boundaries of the dioceses, he joins Rathmaighe and *Deisgirt* into one name and as if of one place; and so the matter stands in Keating's original in both passages; thus the number of the Munster dioceses, besides Cashel, was six. The diocese of Rathmaighe Deisgirt was undoubtedly the same as that of Ardfert, as appears from Cean-Meara (Kenmare), Feil (the river Feal), and Doirbre (the same as the now barony of Iveragh) being reckoned among its boundaries. Rathmaighe was surnamed *Deisgert* (Southern) to distinguish it from Rathmuighe in the North of Ireland. It is worth observing that, according to this decree, Waterford was united to Lismore, a union which was afterwards broken.

(92) In another part of this enumeration instead of *Kilkenny* we find *Kilcullen*; but Keating's original has not Kilcullen but Kilkenny alone. And, what makes it still more clear, a place called *Milcadhach* near the river Barrow is laid down as an eastern boundary of the diocese in question, being marked at the same time as a western one of the diocese of Ferns, and also as a boundary of that of Waterford or Lismore. This could not answer for a diocese of Kilcullen, and accordingly the true reading is *Kilkenny*. Whether the synod used this name, or Keating adopted it inasmuch as Kilkenny had become before his time the residence of the bishops of Ossory, I am not able to tell; but the name *Kilkenny* has never adhered to the see, nor was it until many years after the synod of Rathbreasil that its bishops began to reside in that city.

(93) At the time of the council of Kells there were, as will be seen, besides the archiepiscopal sees, 34 bishoprics. That council was attended by some bishops of old sees omitted by the synod of Rathbreasil, such as those of Clonmacnois, Achonry, Ardagh, &c. On the other hand in the account of the council of Kells are not mentioned the sees of Cong and Ardarn.

(94) Keating, *ib.*

(95) I have taken these words from Peter Walsh's *Prospect of the state of Ireland* (p. 248.), who professes to have copied them from Keating, whose translator has omitted them, merely stating, that the synod left the blessing of God and its own upon those, who should support and vindicate the regulations made with regard to the bishoprics and their limits, &c.

§. xv. Before the synod of Rathbreasil was held Celsus had made two visitations of Connaught, the second of which was in 1116. (96) The first might have been in 1106, the year, in which he made his circuit of Ulster and Munster, and perhaps, in making his way from the former to the latter province, took his route through Connaught. It is related, that in 1121 Celsus was appointed bishop also of Dublin with the common consent of the Irish and Northmen or Danes. (97) This must have been after the 4th of July of said year, on which the bishop Samuel O'Haingly died. (98) It is not easy to understand, what is meant by the appointment of Celsus to the see of Dublin; for surely it cannot be supposed, that he intended to become a pluralist. The probability is, that on the death of Samuel he wished to bring that see under his jurisdiction, and that his views were favoured by a part of the clergy and people, who applied to him to take upon himself the administration of the diocese until matters could be properly arranged. Anselm of Canterbury, for whom the Irish prelates entertained great respect, was dead since the year 1109; and it was now thought full time to put an end to the jurisdiction of Canterbury over any part of Ireland. Waterford and Limerick had been already, by the decree of Rathbreasil, placed under the archbishop of Cashel (99) and the Irish bishops, particularly Celsus, considered it very unbecoming, that the church of Dublin should remain separated from the body of the Irish hierarchy. Whether Celsus actually governed the see of Dublin

for some time, in consequence of said appointment, however it may be understood, I am not able to ascertain; but the fact is, that a majority of the burgesses and clergy of the city opposed his plan, and elected Gregory, (100) who was as yet not a deacon, for their bishop. They sent him to England with a letter directed to Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, (101) from which it appears, that there had been a contest relative to the dependence of Dublin on that see. This is clear from the very terms of the head or address, in which the electors, not content with calling themselves the burgesses and clergy of Dublin, represent themselves as *all* the burgesses and *all* the clergy. (102) Then they tell him, that they think it fit to send to him Gregory their elect; for, they add, “we were always willingly
 “ subject to the direction of your predecessors, from
 “ whom we remember that our people received the
 “ ecclesiastical dignity. Know then, that the bishops
 “ of Ireland entertain a very great jealousy against
 “ us, and most of all the one who resides at Armagh,
 “ because we are unwilling to submit to their ordi-
 “ nation, but wish to be always under your dominion.
 “ Therefore we supplicantly request, that you will
 “ promote Gregory to the holy order of episcopacy,
 “ if you wish to retain any longer this diocese, which
 “ we have preserved for you during a considerable
 “ time.”

(96) *Tr. Th.* p. 300.

(97) *Ib.* from the 4 Masters, and Harris, (*Bishops at Celsus*) who refers also to the Annals of Multifernan, which have at A. 1121, *Celestinus (Celsus) Primas archiepiscopatum Dublin accepit.* They are wrong in calling the see of Dublin *archiepiscopatum*.

(98) Above §. 5.

(99) Yet the Danes of Limerick succeeded, after Gillebert's death, in opposition to that decree, in getting their bishop consecrated at Canterbury.

(100) Colgan, quoting the 4 Masters (*Tr. Th. p. 309.*) calls him *Grenius*, an Irish name with a Latin termination.

(101) This letter is at No. 40 in Usher's *Sylloge*.

(102) Domino reverentissimo ac religiosissimo, Radulpho archiepiscopo Cantuariæ, *omnes burgenses Dublinæ civitatis, cunctusque clericorum conventus, &c.*

§. XVI. These Danish electors were assisted by an Irish sovereign, who must have been no other than the one to whom Dublin was then subject. This sovereign was Tirdelvac or Turlogh O'Connor, who, from having been originally king only of Connaught, extended in course of time his dominion over other parts of Ireland, and became master of Dublin in the year 1118. (103) He wrote a letter to Henry I. king of England for the purpose of recommending a request of the burgesses of Dublin relative to this matter, in consequence of which Henry, calling him *king of Ireland*, directed this note to the archbishop Ralph: "The king of Ireland has announced to me by a brief of his, and the burgesses of Dublin, that they have chosen this Gregory to be their bishop, and that they send him to you to be consecrated. Accordingly I give you this notice, that, complying with their petition, you may perform his consecration without delay." (104) Gregory was, by order of Ralph, ordained deacon and priest by Roger, bishop of Salisbury, at a place called *Divisio*, on a Saturday the 24th of September, *A. D.* 1121, and was consecrated bishop by Ralph at Lambeth on Sunday the 2d of October. Ralph was attended by Richard bishop of London, Roger of Salisbury, Robert of Lincoln, Everard of Norwich, and David of Bangor. On the 24th of said month Gregory assisted at the consecration of the church of Tewksbury. (105) His profession of obedience was in these terms; "I Gregory, elected to the government of the church of Dublin, which is situated in Ireland, and to be consecrated by thee,

“ Reverend father Ralph, archbishop of the holy
 “ church of Canterbury, and primate of all Britain,
 “ do promise that I will observe in every respect
 “ canonical obedience to thee and all thy successors.”

(106) And in fact it appears, that he did so until the holding of the council of Kells in 1152, when Dublin was raised to the rank of a metropolitical see, of which Gregory became the first archbishop. After his return to Ireland I meet with no further attempt to bring Dublin under Irish ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and Celsus being a man of peaceable disposition, seems to have acquiesced in the result of Gregory's appointment. In the year 1122 Celsus lost his suffragan or assistant bishop for the see of Armagh, Mael-Colm (*servant of Columba*) O'Brolchan, who died in reputation of sanctity after having spent some time in pilgrimage at or near Derry. (107) It is probable, that he was the immediate successor, in that capacity, of Coencomrach O'Boigill, who died in 1106. (108)

(103) The Annals of Innisfallen have at *A.* 1118. “ Turlogh O'Conor became king of the Danes of Dublin, having banished thence Donall Gearr-lamhach (*short-handed*) O'Brian, son of Murtoigh the son of Turlogh O'Brian.”

(104) The original of this message is at No. 41 in the *Sylloge*.

(105) Continuator of Florence of Worcester at *A.* 1121. and Harris, *Bishops of Dublin at Gregory*. According to Usher (see above *Not.* 35.) Gregory's consecration should be assigned to *A.* 1122. This is contrary not only to the positive statement of the Continuator, who has it at *A.* 1121, but, what is of more weight, likewise to his marking, that the 24th of September fell on a Saturday and the 2d of October on a Sunday. Now these coincidences do not answer for 1122, but they do for 1121, the Dominical letter of which was *B.* Add that Ralph of Canterbury died on the 19th of October in 1122. Supposing him to have been sick for some time before his death, it is hard to think that he was able to consecrate a bishop in that same month.

(106) Usher's *Sylloge* towards the end.

(107) 4 Masters *ap Tr. Th.* p. 300. They say, that he obtained the palm of martyrdom, but do not tell us how, or on what occasion. Their calling him *bishop of Armagh* must be understood, as with regard to some others to whom they give that title, relatively to his having assisted as suffragan in the government of the see.

(108) Above §. 12. Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 300.) would wish to explain O'Brolchan's having been suffragan to Celsus by observing, that Celsus then, *i. e.* in 1122, held two sees, Armagh and Dublin. But we may be sure, that he did not hold Dublin in that year; for Gregory was in quiet possession of it. The suffraganship of Armagh was a circumstance of long standing, and Celsus thought it adviseable to continue it, were it merely that the diocese should not be neglected during the periods of his absence.

CHAP. XXVI.

Great contentions among the Irish princes—Deaths of several Irish Bishops in the early part of the 12th century.—Learned men that flourished in Ireland in the same period—Gormfhlaith Abbess of Kildare—Several churches plundered and devastated.—Pious men and ecclesiastics still continue to pass from Ireland into the continent—Monastery of St. James at Ratisbon erected by Irish Monks by the aid of Conor O'Brian, king of Munster—St. Malachy, or Maolmaadhóg O'Morgair, his birth, education, &c.—Two churches erected at Lismore and one at Cashel by Cormac Mac-Carthy, king of Desmond—Church of St. Peter and Paul at Armagh consecrated by Celsus—Monastery of Bangor re-established by St. Malachy—St. Malachy consecrated

bishop of Connor—Death of Celsus Archbishop of Armagh—succeeded by Murchertach or Maurice, who holds the see for five years—On the death of Murchertach Nigellus attempts to take possession of the see of Armagh, but is prevented, and St. Malachy is declared Primate—Death of Imar O’Haedhagan, who had been St. Malachy’s preceptor—Synod of Cashel under Domnald O’Conaing and the bishops of Munster—Several churches pillaged and destroyed—Deaths of several bishops.

SECTION I.

MURTOGH O’Brian was, as we have seen, (1) dethroned in 1116, and died in 1119. The substitution, in his stead, of his brother Dermot gave rise to great wars and desolation throughout all Leth-mogha. Turlogh O’Conor, king of Connaught, availing himself of this opportunity, laid waste Thomond in 1116, and obtained very considerable booty, which he afterwards presented to God and St. Flannan, that is, to the church of Killaloe. Dermot advanced in said year with an army into Connaught, but after great slaughter and loss of military stores, &c. was forced to retreat. (2) These contests continued with various success, chiefly in favour of Turlogh, who in 1118 destroyed the royal palace of the O’Brians at Ceanchorra near Killaloe, until the death of Dermot, which occurred in 1120, when he was succeeded by his eldest son Conor O’Brian as king of Munster, the principality of Thomond, which Conor had held hitherto, being given to his brother Turlogh O’Brian (2) In the following year died Domnald Mac-Lochlin sovereign of the Northern parts, who had been styled *king of Ireland*. (4) Turlogh O’Conor was now become the most powerful prince in Ireland, and hav-

ing burned Cashel and Lismore in 1121, (5) continued for several years to ravage and harrass Munster, Leinster, and Meath, until, having humbled also the princes of Ulster, he obtained hostages from them, as he had already from those of other parts, and rose to such pre-eminence that he has been called king of Ireland. (6) Yet we find, that during part of his reign Conor O'Brian possessed great power, and that, besides being sovereign of Leth-mogha, he claimed hostages and obedience from all the other princes of Ireland. (7) Conor lived until 1142, as did Turlogh O'Conor until 1156. (8)

(1) *Chap. xxiv. §. 14.*

(2) *Annals of Innisfallen at A. 1116.*

(3) *Ib.* from *A. 1116 to 1120.* (4) See *Chap. xxiv. §. 14.*

(5) *Annals of Innisfallen at A. 1121.*

(6) Colgan observes, (*Tr. Th. p. 449.*) that Turlogh, or, as in his affected nomenclature he calls him, Theodoric O'Conor was one of those Irish kings, who, like Domnald Mac-Lochlin and others, were styled *refragable*, inasmuch as their title and claims to the sovereignty of all Ireland were disputed and opposed by other kings and princes. See also O'Flaherty, *Ogyg. Part III. cap. 94.*

(7) See *Annals of Innisfallen at A. 1138 and 1142.*

(8) Said *Annals* at those years. Ware assigns (*Antiq. cap. 4.*) Turlogh's death to 1157 by adding a year without necessity Colgan, following the 4 Masters (*Tr. Th. p. 449.*) has it at 1156.

§. II. Of Irish bishops, who died in the early part of this the 12th century, I find besides some already mentioned, the names of the following. Rigan, of Dromore, and Cormac O'Mail of Glendaloch died in 1101, (9) Christian O'Hectigern of Clonmacnois in 1103; Maclothod O'Hailgenan of Cork in 1107, and his successor Patrick O'Senbac in 1111; Mac-Dongail of Kildare in 1108; Condla O'Flain of

Leighlin and Mac-mic-Aeduan of Lismore in 1113; Catasach O'Cuail or O'Conuil of Tuam, and Kel-lach O'Colman of Ferns in 1117. (10) In the same year died Annchad O'Hannchadha, bishop of Clonfert, who was celebrated for his piety and learning. (11) O'Ligbair of Emly died in 1122, and was succeeded by Maelmorda Mac-Inclodnai, during whose incumbency the see was plundered in 1123, and the mitre of St. Ailbe, which had been preserved there for many ages, was burned by the robbers. (12) Murges O'Nioc, bishop of Tuam, died in 1128. (13) To these times must be assigned Eugene bishop of Ardmore, and author of a Life of St. Cuthbert, if it be true that he wrote it about A. D. 1100; but no account remains of the time of his death. (14)

Among the distinguished ecclesiastics and learned men of those days we meet with Gilla-na-Naomh O'Dunabhradh, who is called chief professor of Ireland, and died in 1101. (15) Mugron O'Morgair, chief scholastic or principal professor of Armagh, died in the monastery of Mungret (county of Limerick) on the 5th of October in 1102. (16) I find nothing to prove, that he was an ecclesiastic; (17) and he is stated to have been the father of the great St. Malachy, and of Christian, who became bishop of Clogher. (18) In 1103 Murchad O'Flaitheain, archdeacon of Ardboe and renowned for his wisdom and erudition, died at Armagh. (19) Cosgrach O'Cruadin died in 1104; Ferdornach Dall (blind) in 1110; and Conor O'Cleri in 1112; they were, all three, scholastics of Kildare. (20) Gilla-Patrick O'Dubhratha, scholastic of Killaloe, who is called the wisest of the Momonians, died in 1110. (21) Moelsuthun, scholastic of Tallagh died in 1125, (22) and in 1127 Gilla-criost O'Maoillean (Malone) abbot of Clonmacnois, a man greatly distinguished for his wisdom, charity, and sanctity. (23) He had assisted at the synod of Usneach held in 1111. (24) Moelpatrick O'Drugan was appointed professor at

Armagh in 1107, (25) and became very eminent, as will be seen hereafter. This list will, omitting other learned men of these times, be sufficient to show, that learning was still cultivated as usual.

(9) Ware, *Bishops at Dromore*, and Harris at *Glendaloch*.

(10) See Ware (Latin text) and Harris at the respective sees. They have (at *Meath*) among the bishops of Clonard the death also of Concovar, in 1117, who is called *comorban of Finnian*; but that title is not sufficient to show, that he was a bishop.

(11) Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 206. Neither Ware nor Harris makes mention of this prelate.

(12) Ware and Harris at *Emly*.

(13) *Tr. Th.* p. 308. Ware has not this bishop, but Harris has, at *Tuam*.

(14) That Eugene was bishop of Ardmore is clear from a MS. collection on the Acts of St. Cuthbert in the Cottonian library taken out of Irish histories. Ware (*Writers, 12th century*) states, that the author calls Eugene bishop of *Hardimore*, but that, as he added that it was the see of St. Declan, it is plain that he meant Ardmore. Ware says, that Eugene lived in 1174. If he meant to insinuate that Eugene wrote about this year, it cannot be reconciled with what Usher says, (*Pr. p.* 945.) viz. that said collection appeared about 1160. Colgan supposed, (*AA. SS. p.* 674.) that the author was Laurence of Durlham, who died in said year 1160. Eugene must have written his work before this time, and Colgan (*ib.*) assigns the composition of it to about 1100. It might have been some years later; but it was, in all appearance, prior to the council of Kells in 1152, after which there is no mention of the see of Ardmore in the lists of the Irish bishoprics.

(15) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1101.

(16) *Ib.* at *A.* 1102, Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 299) from the 4 Masters, and Usher (*p.* 861) from the Annals of Ulster, which have at *A.* 1102; *Mugronus O'Mungair, Armachiae et totius Occidentalis Europae lector primarius, multis testibus praesentibus, III nonas Octobris vitam feliciter finivit.* Instead of *O'Morgair*, as in the 4 Masters, they have *O'Mungair*, which I find also in the Annals of Innisfallen. His being styled chief lecturer both of Armagh and of *all Western Europe* occurs likewise in the 4 Masters, a de-

nomination, which is often found in the Irish annals, and under which not only Ireland was comprized but likewise, at least some times, the whole of the British islands and perhaps some parts of the Continent. It does not mean in this case, that Mugron gave lectures throughout what was called *Western Europe*, but that he was the most distinguished of its lecturers.

(17) Colgan makes him a professor of theology, as if there were no other professors than theological ones; but the Annals of Innisfallen call him professor of literature, while those of Ulster do not mark over what department he presided.

(18) In the Annals of Innisfallen (*ib.*) we read that Mugron was the father of Maelmaodhog and of Giolla-Criost. The former name, which signifies *servant of Maodog* (St. Moedoc of Ferns) was the real one of St. Malachy, but was latinized, like some other Irish names beginning with *Maol* into *Malachias*. *Giolla* or *Giolla-Criost* (*servant of Christ*) has been frequently changed into *Christianus*, as has happened with regard to St. Malachy's brother, the bishop of Clogher, who is usually called Christian O'Morgair. O'Flaherty in a MS. note to *Tr. Th.* p. 299. refers to Tigernach and the *Chronicon Scotorum* (*ad A.* 1102.) as stating, that Mugron was the father of St. Malachy. Colgan observes (*Tr. Th. ib.*) that Mugron was a relative of St. Malachy, who is usually said to have been of the very ancient noble family of the O'Morgairs, now called O'Dogherty. But from what we have seen it will follow, that Mugron was more than a mere relative of his.

(19) *Tr. Th. ib.* Ardboe is in the county of Tyrone, barony of Dungannon. A monastery was founded there by a St. Colman, but at what period I cannot tell. It was burned in 1166. See *AA. SS.* p. 28 and 222.

(20) *Tr. Th.* p. 630.

(21) *AA. SS.* p. 200.

(22) *Tr. Th.* p. 632.

(23) *AA. SS.* p. 200.

(24) See *Not.* 82. to *Chap.* xxv.

(25) Usher, p. 861. and *Tr. Th.* p. 299.

§. III. Among the holy females of these times the most celebrated seems to have been Gormlat or Gormfhlaith, daughter of Morogh Mac-Maol-nambo a Leinster prince, and abbess of Kildare, celebrated

for her austerities, who died in 1112. (26) Two pious princes died during this period, Roderic (Rughraidhe) O'Connor in 1118, at Clonmacnois, where, from having been king of Connaught, he entered into holy orders; and Teige Mac-Carthy, king of Desmond, at Cashel in 1124 after an exemplary course of penitential conduct. (27) Some other princes also exhibited great proofs of religious feelings and repentance, especially Murteogh O'Brian; (28) but we find terrible oppressions and cruelties perpetrated in said times by Irish kings or dynasts, who did not scruple to plunder, devastate, and burn churches and religious places. For instance, the church of Ardbraccan was, together with a number of people therein, burned and pillaged in 1109 by the Hy-Briuns, who destroyed also the adjacent village. (29) The Dalcassians of Thomond plundered and laid waste the monastery of Clonmacnois in 1111, at, it is said, the instigation of Murteogh O'Brian; and they, or some other party of Momomians, pillaged it again in 1115. (30) Aedh O'Rourke and the Hy-Briuns killed Maelbrigid, abbot of Kells, and many others on the last Sunday of summer in 1117. (31) We have seen above that Turlogh O'Connor burned Cashel and Lismore in 1121, and that Emly was plundered in 1123. Conor O'Lochlin, an Ulster prince, having marched with a great army into Meath, amidst other depredations burned in 1127 the steeple of the church of Trim, in which a very considerable number of people was shut up at the time. (32) Thus it appears, that several of the Irish princes and chieftains had imbibed the spirit of the Danes, sparing neither churches, nor monasteries, nor ecclesiastics, according as suited their views; a system, which was held in abhorrence by their ancestors, and which often excited them to unite in defence of their altars against the Scandinavian robbers. This was one of the sad effects of the contests between various powerful families aspiring to the

sovereignty of all Ireland, and again between divers members of said families quarrelling among themselves for precedency. In these contests the respective parties and their adherents stopped at nothing, while endeavouring to establish their claims, and harassed and persecuted without distinction all those, whom they looked upon as their opponents.

(26) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1112. and *Tr. Th.* p. 630. Morogh, her father was son of Dermod Mac-Maol-na-mbo, the powerful king of Leinster, who was killed in the battle of Odhba, *A. D.* 1072. Morogh died, according to the Annals of Innisfallen, in Dublin in the year 1070.

(27) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1118 and 1124.

(28) See *Chap.* xxiv. §. 14.

(29) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1109. These Hy-Briuns were probably those of Leitrim or of Roscommon.

(30) *Ib.* at *A.* 1111. and 1115.

(31) *Tr. Th.* p. 508. Colgan, in translating the text of the 4 Masters, fell into a ludicrous error by making that day the festival of St. Cromdubh. But there was no such saint. *Cromdubh* was, in all appearance, the same idol as *Cromcruach*, of which we have seen, (*Not.* 45 to *Chap.* v.) and which was destroyed by St. Patrick (§. 8. *ib.*) O'Flaherty observes (*MS.* note at *Tr. Th. ib.*) that the words used by the 4 Masters, among which is *Cromdubh*, mean the last Sunday of summer, which was sacred to St. Patrick as an anniversary commemorating the destruction of the idol.

(32) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1127.

§. iv. Pious men and ecclesiastics still continued to repair from Ireland to the continent. There is extant a discourse, entitled *Itineraria* or *Exhortatoria*, by one Dermat, or, I dare say, rather *Dermot* or *Dermot*, who calls himself an Irishman. (33) Whether he were a clergyman or not, he does not inform us. He composed it probably somewhere in Germany; for he says that in the year of his delivering it, *viz.* *A. D.* 1117, he had been at Liege. He

addresses his auditors as foreigners to him, and tells them that, although an Irishman, and a Scot, he was of the same religion with themselves and a co-partner in the sacraments of their church and in their faith. Dermot was then on his way to Jerusalem, and from this circumstance took an opportunity of exhorting all those, who looked to the salvation of their souls, to quit the mystical Babylon and proceed towards the mystical Jerusalem. He observes, that in said year there appeared strong signs of the divine wrath, dreadful rains, thunder storms, and earthquakes; and that he himself had seen some persons killed by lightning even in churches at Liege. He requests the prayers of the people for himself and Raimbald, an abbot of Liege, who had treated him kindly and provided him with a letter of recommendation. This discourse is written in rather good Latin, and shows that Dermot had studied the Scriptures, and that, among the Fathers, he had read, at least, some of St. Augustin's works.

The Irish monks of Ratisbon, after having occupied for many years the monastery of St. Peter, (34) erected a new one within the city, which was called that of St. James. This was during the pontificate of Calixtus II. (35) and accordingly some time between the early part of 1119 and the late one of 1124. Yet it must have been after 1120, whereas the person, who enabled them to build the monastery of St. James, was Conor O'Brian, king of Munster, who was exceedingly kind to Isaac, (who had been under Marianus the founder of St. Peter's) Gervase, and other monks, whom the abbot Dionysius sent over to Ireland for the purpose of collecting means towards the forming and establishing of the new monastery. Conor O'Brian gave them plenty of money, which, on their return, was laid out in erecting the noble monastery of St. James. (36) Yet the house of St. Peter's still continued to exist, but dependent on the abbot of St. James, who

elected its prior. Dionysius (Donogh) was undoubtedly the same as Domnus, who is mentioned as the first abbot of St. James', and as a native of the South of Ireland. How long he governed that establishment, or at what time he died, I do not find recorded. His immediate successor was Christianus, (Gilla-crist) likewise an Irishman from the South, and of the illustrious house of Mac-Carthy. (37) Christianus placed Macarius over a monastery founded, or perhaps only enlarged and endowed, at Wurtzburg on a site granted by the bishop Henry, for Irish monks, as a branch of the house of Ratisbon, and to which the bishop annexed lands, all under the name of God and St. Kilian. (38)

(33) It has been published by Martene and Durand, *Thesaur. Nov. Anecd. Tom. 1. col. 340. seqq.* and begins with these words, *Dermatius natione Hyberniensis*. In the body of it he says ; "*Etsi sum Hyberniensis, etsi sum Scoticus,*" &c.

(34) See *Chap. xxv. §. 2.*

(35) Life of Marianus, &c. *cap. 4. ap. Bolland. 9 Febr.*

(36) See Gratianus Lucius (Lynch) *Cambr. Evers. cap. 21.* where he quotes from Extracts made by Stephen White from a chronicle of the Irish monks of Ratisbon. The abbot Dionysius is called *Domnus* in the Life of Marianus, both names latinized from *Donogh*. Conor O'Brian is there stated to have sent Counts of great nobility and power, *cruce signatos i. e.* going on the crusade to Palestine, with large presents to Lotharius, that is, Lotharius II. king of Germany and afterwards emperor. It is probable, that his object in doing so, was to induce Lotharius to be friendly to his Irish countrymen then in Ratisbon. This correspondence with Lotharius must have been after the erection of the monastery of St. James, whereas Lotharius did not become king of Germany until 1125, and also prior to the latter end of 1137, the time of Lotharius' death.

(37) The Chronicle of the Irish monastery &c. *ap. Lynch, ib.*

(38) Life of Marianus, *cap. 5.* The Bollandists observe, that this monastery was established perhaps about 1130, as must have been the case, if Henry was the same as the bishop Heze-

lin. But, if he was the same as the bishop Embricho, it would have been later ; for Embricho held the see of Wurtzburg from 1131 until 1147. I have already observed (*Chap.* xxv. §. 2.) that there was probably an Irish monastery, at least a small one, before these times at Wurtzburg.

§. v. This was the period, in which that great ornament not only of the Irish but likewise of the whole Catholic church, St. Malachy, began to be distinguished. He was of the ancient and noble family of the O'Morgairs, supposed to be the same as the O'Doghertys, and his original name was *Maolmaodhog*. (39) It is highly probable, that he was born at Armagh, and particularly so, if it be true, as stated in various Irish annals, that his father was Mugron O'Morgair the celebrated professor of that city. (40) This much is certain, that it was there he was reared from his earliest age. (41) His birth must, in all probability, be assigned to the year 1095. (42) The mother of St. Malachy was a pious and sensible woman, and instilled into his mind from his first years the principles of morality and good conduct. (43) He was of a sedate quiet disposition, and of a very pious turn of mind, fond of prayer and retirement, and exceedingly attentive in learning such rudiments as boys are taught in schools, so as, being endowed with very good abilities, to surpass all his class-fellows. He would have wished to frequent churches, but was prevented partly by his attendance at school, and partly by his not wishing to appear singular while so very young. Yet he used to pray as often as he could. His master was in the habit of taking a walk to a village near Armagh, and was wont to take him as a companion. Malachy used to seize opportunities of remaining for a while a little behind him, and, spreading out his hands towards heaven, throw out some ejaculatory prayers. Having passed the time of boyhood, and being arrived at the age of adolescence, his piety still in-

creasing, he began to consider of a state of life, and how he should serve God and guard against the blandishments of this world, There was a holy man at Armagh, who led a very austere life and was inexorable in chastising his body. His name was *Imar*, and he lived in a cell near a church, where he continued to serve God day and night in fasting and prayer. To him Malachy repaired and became a disciple of his, (44) sitting with him, listening in silence to his instructions, and exerting himself to imitate his conduct. As soon as it was known that he became a companion of *Imar*, various remarks were made by the inhabitants of Armagh. Some were sorry, that so delicate a youth, and who was loved by every one, had given himself up to so severe a life. Others said that being so young he would not persevere. Yet he did, and within a few days time was followed by several other persons, who also placed themselves under the direction of *Imar*. Among them Malachy was pre-eminent by his progress in piety and virtue.

(39) See above *Not.* 18.

(40) *Ib.* To this may be objected what St. Bernard says (*Vit. S. Malach. cap.* 1.) that his *parents* were great as to family and power, whence it would follow that his father was rather a chieftain than a professor. St. Bernard's words are; "*Parentes illi fuere genere et potentia magni juxta nomen magnorum, qui sunt in terra.*" This can be easily reconciled with the statement of the Irish annalists, if we suppose, as I think we ought to do, that the *parentes* of St. Bernard does not mean *father and mother*, but, according to the acceptation quite usual in the middle ages, *relatives or kinsfolk*, such as *parens* in French and *parenti* in Italian. If St. Malachy's father was a chieftain or dynast, how has it come to pass, that he passed his childhood in Armagh under the care of his mother? A chieftain or a chieftain's family would have resided in their district amidst their vassals. Some one may say; Is it to be admitted, that St. Malachy, who belonged to so illustrious a family, could have been son

of only a professor, or that professors were to be found among the members of such families? I answer; Why not? Many a professor I have known, that belonged to highly noble families, and some of them even heads of such families. This would indeed have been a very rare case in most parts of Europe during the times we are now treating of, and when kings, princes and nobles could neither read nor write. But the Irish princes and nobles did not sink into this neglect of learning, and some of their most learned men were persons of illustrious birth, such as *ex. c.* Fedlemidh Mac-Crimthan, king of Munster, in the 9th century, Cormac Mac-Culinan of the same royal blood in the beginning of the 10th, Dubdalethe, of the powerful house, that kept possession of the see of Armagh, in the 11th, and who was professor at Armagh before he was appointed its archbishop under the name of Dubdalethe III. It is therefore not singular, that Mugron O'Morgair, although of high and powerful connections, was a professor. For, as the Irish nobility respected and cultivated literature, more or less, so such of them as were duly qualified were not ashamed to teach it.

(41) St. Bernard, speaking of Armagh, says (*ib. cap. 2.*); “*Ipsa est, in qua alitus est Malachias.*” The term, *alitus*, indicates his having lived there when even a small child.

(42) This is easily deducible from the testimony of St. Bernard, who states that he died in the 54th year of his age, *A. D.* 1148. Now, as the day of his death was the 2d of November, it follows that, unless we are to suppose that he was born at a time of year later than this, his birth must have occurred in 1095.

(43) St Bernard makes no mention of his father, whence it may be justly inferred that he died when Malachy was very young. This helps to corroborate what we have seen concerning his having been the son of Mugron, whereas Mugron died in 1102, (above, §. 2.) at which time St. Malachy was only about seven years old.

(44) It is strange, that Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 299.) confounds Imar with the master, under whom St. Malachy was placed when a small boy, and marks the beginning of his tuition by Imar at *A.* 1100. He says that this appears from the Life by St. Bernard. Now it is evident from said Life, that Colgan was highly mistaken. As to St. Malachy's having been under any master in

1100, when he was only about five years old, St. Bernard has not a word; and, instead of assigning to him, while a boy, Imar as master, he expressly tells us, (*cap.* 1. and 2.) that he did not apply to Imar until he was a grown up lad, and after he had spent his boyhood under his first master. Besides, Imar did not keep a school for teaching boys. Ware (*Bishops at St. Malachy*) has followed in some measure Colgan's mistake by saying, that the saint was educated *first* under Imar, and has added another of his own in calling Imar an abbot, instead of which title he should rather have given him that of hermit or recluse. Harris, in his additions to Ware has copied these mistakes, and adds that he spent seven years with Imar. This is an idle and unfounded conjecture. According to it St. Malachy would have left Imar, when he was no more than twelve years old. But the fact is that he had passed that age, before he placed himself under the direction of Imar. Nor is there any account of the number of years, which St. Malachy spent with him. This much is known, that he continued to be, more or less a disciple of his, although it seems not living with him, until he was ordained priest and about 25 years of age. And here comes a monstrous blunder of Harris, who sends him from Imar, that is, when, in his system, only 12 years old, to Lismore; whereas on the contrary, as will be seen, St. Malachy did not go thither nor leave Armagh until after he was a priest. Imar's surname was, according to the 4 Masters, (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 300.) *O'Hoedhagain*.

§. VI. After some time Celsus and Imar considered him worthy of the order of deaconship, and forced him to accept of it. Accordingly, although he had not as yet reached the canonical age of twenty-five years, he was ordained deacon by Celsus, and immediately set about fulfilling the duties of his office. He was particularly assiduous in burying the deceased poor, insomuch that his sister used to reproach him continually, as if he were insane, for applying to what she thought so mean an occupation. He slighted her rebukes, and continued to act as usual. When he was about twenty-five years of age, Celsus, with whom Imar agreed in

opinion, thought right to ordain him priest without waiting for the age of thirty usually required by the canons. (45) He then appointed him his vicar, and gave him full powers for the purpose of establishing necessary reforms. St. Malachy exerted himself greatly in this respect, and established the customs of the Roman church in all the churches of the diocese, and particularly the singing of the canonical Hours, according to the general system of the Christian world, being well skilled in Church music, which he had learned in his younger days. This practice of singing the Hours in the churches had not been observed, or rather had ceased to be observed, in the diocese, and even at Armagh. (46) Thus St. Malachy realized, as far as concerned that diocese, the plan of Gillebert of Limerick relative to the substitution of the Roman office for the Irish ones. He abolished superstitious practices, and strove to root out every abuse, that fell in his way. The practice of confession had been much neglected, there not being as yet any general law of the Church prescribing the use of it at certain times. Yet it was observed in Ireland as well as in every Catholic country by persons, who wished to be delivered from their sins, and was much attended to by those, who had addicted themselves to a life of peculiar strictness and sanctity. (47) The more frequent use of it was revived by St. Malachy, who also took care that the sacrament of confirmation should be administered oftener than it used to be. It is not surprising that this sacrament had been neglected in a diocese, which had been governed by laymen calling themselves archbishops, if we consider that real bishops have been found in every part of Europe so slothful and remiss as to omit for many years the administration of it. Next it is stated, that St. Malachy re-established, or rather new-modelled the contract of matrimony. (48) This

cannot mean, that lawful marriages were not observed in the diocese of Armagh, whereas it is certain that they were, (49) but is to be understood of some regulations introduced by St. Malachy relative to said contract. (50) It is probable that, while labouring to establish the Roman customs, he endeavoured to introduce certain matrimonial impediments, hitherto not generally observed in Ireland, particularly that, by which, according to the more general rule of those times, marriage was prohibited within the seventh degree of relationship. (51) Or, what is equally probable, and I think more so, St. Malachy undertook to substitute the system of *Sponsalia de praesenti*, the same as the marriage contract now practised, for the *Sponsalia de futuro*, which was the more usual mode of contracting marriages in Ireland, and which, accompanied with certain conditions, rendered in those days, marriage as valid and binding as the other form did.

(45) St. Bernard remarks, (*cap. 2.*) that the circumstance of the canonical rules not being strictly observed in either of St. Malachy's ordinations, whereas he became a deacon before he was 25 and a priest before he was 30 years of age, is to be excused on the plea of the zeal of the ordainer and the worth of the ordained. Concerning the age required for priests and deacons see *Not. 74 to Chap. iv.* and *Not. 87 to Chap. xi.*

(46) In Butler's *Lives of Saints* (at *St. Malachy, Nov. 3.*) it is said, that the rehearsal of the canonical hours in all the churches of the diocese had been, since the Danish invasions, omitted in the *cities*. This is a mistake. St. Bernard speaks of only one city. that is, Armagh. Elsewhere indeed he says, that a similar neglect of repeating the ecclesiastical offices in the churches prevailed in the diocese of Connor. But in the far greatest part of Ireland these offices and hours were observed and celebrated, as is evident from Gillebert's treatise, *De usu Ecclesiastico*, (See *Chap. xxv. §. 10.*) although they were in general different from the particular ones recited at Rome. How

could Gillebert have said, that *almost all* Ireland was bewildered by the variety of offices, and that a learned man accustomed to one set of offices used to appear like an idiot in a church, where a different one was followed, unless the offices and canonical hours were regularly observed? Nor is it correct to state, that the rehearsal of the offices was omitted *since the Danish invasions*; for, besides it not having been omitted at all in the greatest part of Ireland, it continued at Armagh for a long period after those invasions had begun. The reading of Psalms and singing of hymns lasted for twelve days and nights over the body of Brian Boromhe, in the cathedral of Armagh, A. D. 1014; (*Annals of Innisfallen ad an.*) and in 1022 we find Amalgaid, archbishop of Armagh, attending at the obsequies of Maelseachlin, king of Ireland, which were celebrated in the monastery of Inisaingin not only with masses, but likewise with hymns, canticles, and psalmody. (See *Tr. Th.* p. 298. and compare with *Chap.* XXIII. §. 12.) It is probable that psalmody was still practised at that time in the churches of Armagh. What put a stop to it must have been the abuses caused by the lay so called archbishops, which went on increasing until the early part of the 12th century. It does not, however, follow that the canonical hours or offices were entirely neglected; for although they were not celebrated solemnly in the churches, they were read in private. All that St. Bernard complains of is, that they were not observed nor sung *in the churches*; had they been quite omitted, even in private, he would have spoken in a style not of complaint but of invective. And they certainly must have been repeated, nay sung, before St. Malachy undertook to have them celebrated again in the churches; for otherwise, how could he have learned Church music even before he was in holy orders? Surely, to enable him to learn it, there must have been clergymen, who were in the habit of singing their offices at least in private. Beauford in a dissertation inserted by Ledwich says, (*Antiq. &c.* p. 235.) that the Latin church music was introduced by Malachy; and elsewhere (*p.* 240. 2d *ed.*) the Doctor himself, talking of Gregorian and Ambrosian chant, tells us, that ours must have been on a Greek model. That the Church music practised by St. Malachy was the improved Latin one, commonly called Gregorian, is plain from St. Bernard, who makes mention of it as conformable to the Roman custom, and according to the mode then generally

followed. But St. Malachy was not the first to introduce it into Ireland, whereas he had learned it himself before he had the power of doing so. It had been long before introduced into France. King Pepin had exerted himself to substitute it for the old Gallican chant, and Pope Stephen II. when on a visit with him in France, gave instructions on it. Charlemagne sent persons to Rome to learn it, and Pope Adrian sent him two Roman singers, and thence it came gradually to be adopted in that country; (see Ducange, *Glossar.* &c. at *Cantus Romanus* and Cardinal Bona, *De Divinia psalmodia*, cap. 17. §. 4.) whence, owing to the great intercourse between France and Ireland, it might have been brought over to us, or perhaps from England, or straight from Rome by some of those many Irishmen, who resorted thither down from the seventh century. Whether it were generally received in Ireland, I am not able to state, although it is probable that it was not, considering how much a very great portion of the Irish clergy was attached to every practice followed by St. Patrick, Columbkil, and the old doctors of their church, who in all probability used the ancient Gallican chant; for, as to the Gregorian one, they could not have adopted it, as it was either not practised in their time, or not known to them. Even in England, notwithstanding its being used by the Roman missionaries, it was confined to a small part of that country until a late part of the seventh century, (see Bede, *L. 4. c. 2.*) although James the deacon about the middle of said century had taught it at York. (*Idem L. 2. c. 20.*) Ledwich's saying that the old Irish chant was neither Gregorian nor Ambrosian is correct as to the Gregorian; but how did he know that it was different from the Ambrosian? This chant, which is still kept up, was in use before the times of St. Ambrose, (Bona, *ib. cap. 18. §. 10.*) and consequently of St. Patrick. It was probably much the same as the Gallican. His adding that ours was on a Greek model may in one sense be admitted as true; and he might have said the same of the Ambrosian and Gallican, the former of which is attributed to an archbishop Mirocletes and the latter may justly be ascribed to the Greek missionaries, Pothinus, &c. who preached in Gaul. But there is no reason to think, that the Irish received their Church music directly from Greeks, conformably to Ledwich's favourite hypothesis of Greek and Asiatic missionaries in Ireland. The style of mu-

aic, which they followed in singing the Church service, could not have been any other in ancient times than what had been brought to them, apparently from Gaul, by St. Patrick and his followers, who were not Greeks.

(47) Toland, who has been followed by some others more ignorant than himself, had the impudence (*Nazarenus, Letter II. Sect. 2. §. 6.*) to assert, without alleging a single proof, that the Irish rejected auricular or particular, that is, private confession and sacerdotal absolution. Now he knew that Usher has shown, that “they did (no doubt) both publicly and privately make confession of their faults” and that they submitted to absolution by the bishop or priest in consequence of the power of the keys enjoyed by the sacerdotal order, and which Usher admits it does possess. (*Discourse of the Religion, &c. chap. 5.*) It is true, that he misrepresents some Catholic tenets relative to absolution, *ex. c.* his insinuating that, according to the Catholics, the enjoined penances have no “reference to the taking away of the guilt,” and that the bishops and priests attribute to themselves more than a ministerial power in the remission of sins. But this is not the place to discuss such questions, and it is sufficient to observe, that he not only admits, but proves the very reverse of Toland’s lying position. He remarks that, whatever may be said of certain Goths of Languedoc, of whom Alcuin says, or is supposed to have said, that it was reported they used not to confess to the priests, this has nothing to do with the ancient Scottish and Irish, whose practice was quite different. Usher’s reason for touching on this point was that Alcuin’s letter to the Gothish (71st in Duchesne’s edition) was in some MSS. marked as written to the Scottish. The passage runs thus; “*Dicitur vero neminem ex laicis suam velle confessionem sacerdotibus dare, quos a Deo Christo cum sanctis Apostolis ligandi solvendique potestatem accepisse credimus.*” But, however this is to be understood, (for perhaps it is relative not to sacramental confession but to certain dues called *Confessio*; (see Ducange at *Confessio, No. 4.*) it is well known, that said letter was directed not to Irishmen but to Goths. (See Fleury, *L. 45. §. 20.*) Usher quotes an Irish canon, to which several others might be added if necessary, whence it is evident that confession, penances, and sacerdotal absolution were observed in Ireland. He mentions the practice of St. Cuthbert,

and the case of Adamnan of Coldingham, who confessed his sins to an Irish priest, as related by Bede, *L. 4. c. 25.* Besides what Usher had collected, there are innumerable proofs of the Irish system on these points. Several clergymen are noticed in our annals as distinguished penitentiaries, and who were resorted to from various parts on account of their merit and ability in this particular. Thus St. Gormal, abbot of Ardoilean, is praised on this account; (see *Chap. xxiii. §. 16*) the blessed Dubtach of Albany, who died in 1064, is styled the chief *Confessarius* or spiritual director both of Ireland and Albany, (*Tr. Th. p. 298.*) &c. &c. We find the same practice in much more ancient times, *ex. c.* in the case of a chieftain Suibhne, who, although truly penitent, was ordered by St. Pulcherius, who lived in the seventh century, to confess his sins. (*Life of St. Pulcherius, cap. 19.*) Confession to the priest is ordered on certain occasions by St. Columbanus in his Penitential. In that of Cumian the confession of secret sins and even of bad thoughts is much insisted upon. (See *Not. 55. to Chap. xv.*) It was usual with religious persons to place themselves under the particular direction of some holy man, as, for instance, St. Maidoc of Ferns did under St. Molua of Clonfert-molua, (*Chap. xiv. §. 10.*) who was called his *father confessarius*, or *father of his confession*. (See *Life of St. Maidoc, cap. 20 and 54.*) It would be superfluous to add more on a subject, which is so clear from the whole of the Irish ecclesiastical history. Toland himself quotes (*ib. Sect. 1.*) a passage from an Irish writer, in which the practice of confession and absolution is spoken of as quite usual, although the author seems to have had a particular opinion of his own concerning the nature of the absolving power.

(48) St. Bernard's words are; (*cap. 2.*) “*Contractum conjugiorum—Malachias de novo instituit.*”

(49) Lanfranc, concerning whose letters to king Turlogh and Gothric of Dublin we have seen above, (*Chap. xxiv. §. 12.*) makes mention, in both of them, of the lawfully wedded wives of the Irish, *legitime sibi copulatam uxorem, legitime sibi copulatas*. In like manner Anselm in his letters to king Murtogh (see *Chap. xxv. §. 8.*) speaks of Irish wives and marriages just as he would of those of any other country; and his or Lanfranc's complaint, that some men used to quit their wives and take others, so

far from showing that lawful marriages were omitted in any part of Ireland, proves quite the contrary. How could St. Bernard have supposed, that they were unknown at Armagh, while he speaks so highly of St. Malachy's mother? Making mention of the eight laymen, who held the see of Armagh, he says that they were married men, *virī uxorati*. How could that have been, if marriages were not observed at Armagh?

(50) Fleury (*L.* 68. §. 58.) has very prettily expressed St. Bernard's meaning by the words, *regularity in marriages, la règle dans les mariages*.

(51) It has been already remarked, (*Chap.* xxiv. §. 12.) that some of the Irish clergy seem not to have extended the impediments relative to consanguinity or affinity beyond those marked in Leviticus. Gillebert of Limerick, the contemporary of St. Malachy, makes mention of the seventh degree, as that within which marriage was not allowed. In his tract, *De Statu Ecclesiae*, he writes; “*Conjugatorum est nullam usque in sextam vel etiam septimam progeniem sanguine sibi conjunctam, aut illi quam habuerit aut quam habuit sibi proximus, vel commatrem ducere uxorem.*” Yet it appears, that, however St. Malachy may have succeeded in the diocese of Armagh, Gillebert's exertions were not sufficient to establish that rule all over Ireland. Indeed it was afterwards found necessary to restrain it, and to limit the prohibition to within the fourth degree of consanguinity as well as of affinity. There was a particular abuse, which some persons in Ireland seem to have favoured, relative to allowing a man to marry the widow of his deceased brother. It is condemned in the 25th canon of the synod, called *Synodus S. Patricii*, in these words; “*Audi decreta synodi super istis. Frater thorum defuncti fratris non ascendat, Domino dicente: Erunt duo in carne una. Ergo uxor fratris soror tua est.*” The enacting of this canon indicates, that there was some question on that subject in Ireland; and one Clemens, a *Scotus* and apparently an Irishman, held that doctrine in Germany about the middle of the 8th century, (see the Letter of St. Boniface of Mentz *No.* 15 in Usher's *Sylloge*) and was on that account condemned, as an introducer of Judaism, in a synod of Rome under Pope Zachary. But, prior to that time, this opinion was reprobated by the Irish, and we have seen, (*Chap.* xviii. §. 10.) that St. Kilian, the apostle of Franconia, considered such a

marriage as unlawful, and consequently lost his life. Yet in later times, and even after St. Malachy's death, an abuse of that kind seems to have existed in some parts of Ireland, as will be seen elsewhere.

(52) This is a point, which, as far as I know, has been quite overlooked by such of our writers as have endeavoured to explain the words of St. Bernard, or to answer the calumnies of Giraldus Cambrensis and others, relative to Irish marriages. To understand this subject, it is to be observed that in the old canon law two sorts of *Sponsalia*, or espousals, are distinguished, *viz.* one called *de futuro*, and the other *de praesenti*. The latter is exactly the same as the matrimonial contract now used, and which renders a marriage valid *ipso facto* even before its consummation. Accordingly it is otherwise called the *contract of matrimony*, and used to be celebrated in *facie Ecclesiae*. The former was also a contract consisting in an agreement, by which the parties solemnly promised and were pledged to join in marriage within a certain limited time. As it did not require immediate cohabitation, it was called *Sponsalia de futuro*, or what in English is named *betrothing*. According to the Roman law, it was known under the general name of *Sponsalia*, and in the Codes there is a Title, *De Sponsalibus et donationibus ante Nuptias*, distinct from that *De Nuptiis*, or of marriage strictly so called. This contract of *espousal* used to be entered into with great solemnity, in presence of witnesses, and accompanied with donations, certain ceremonies, &c. The violation of it was punished with the severest penalties of the state and censures of the church, unless there appeared some just reason for not observing it; as if, *ex. c.* either of the parties protracted the time of marriage beyond two years. There are several decrees of councils prohibiting persons from breaking in upon this contract, and one even as late as that of Trullo, which declares it downright adultery for a man to marry a woman, that was before betrothed to another, during the life of him who had espoused her. And Pope Siricius, writing to Himerius, says, that it would be a sacrilegious act for a man to take as his wife a girl espoused to another, because it would violate the benediction given by the priest to her who was afterwards to be married. Hence we find that the sacerdotal benediction was used as well in espousals as in strictly called marriages. As long as the Roman laws remained in

vigour, the contract of matrimony was usually celebrated some time after that of espousals, and with a solemnity not practised by nations, who had not been ruled by those laws. (On these subjects see Bingham, *Origines*, &c. *Book xxii. ch. 3 and 4.*)

But in the middle ages all that apparatus did not appear necessary, at least in some countries. The two contracts were known; but it began to be supposed, that either of them was sufficient in itself, if attended with the requisite circumstances, for the validity of marriage. In the Canon law of the Decretals they are distinguished as two particular contracts, and one of which might be entered into without passing through the other. That, which was strictly understood by the name of *contract of matrimony*, began, to guard against equivocation and to facilitate the solving of questions, to be called *Sponsalia de praesenti*, inasmuch as it required no future condition towards rendering the marriage valid, and was expressed in words of the present tense, such as *I take you for my wife, &c.* In the fourth book of the Decretals, *Tit. De Sponsalibus et Matrimoniis*, there are many decrees relative to cases, in which there might be a clashing between the two contracts. There is one (*cap. 15.*) of Alexander III. declaring that *Sponsalia de futuro*, if followed by consummation, are not dissolved by *Sponsalia de praesenti*, but that they would if it had not been so followed; provided, however, that the man, who, abandoning his betrothed spouse as yet by him untouched, marries another woman, had not been forced to marry her. I find another (*cap. 30.*) exactly to the same purpose by Gregory IX. in which he decides, that a man, who has pledged himself (by *Sponsalia de futuro*) to a woman, and afterwards knows her carnally, is bound to stick to her as his wife, and henceforth is not allowed to marry, in any manner whatsoever, another woman during her life time. Then he adds, (*cap. 31.*) that, if no carnal knowledge has intervened, the promise ever so solemn (by *Sponsalia de futuro*) must yield to an actual subsequent marriage, yet so as that the party violating its pledge must undergo penance; while, on the contrary, a marriage strictly so called (by *Sponsalia de praesenti*) duly entered into, cannot be set aside by any other. Now the whole mystery of Irish marriages is cleared up. They were usually contracted only by *sponsalia de futuro*, a very old mode much like that of the ancient Jews, whose marriages used to be valid some time.

and often considerable, before the parties went to cohabit together. The Irish were more in the habit of contracting marriage in this way than by that *de praesenti*; and hence Giraldus Cambrensis has said of them, (*Topogr. Hib. Dist. 3. c. 19.*) that “*nondum matrimonia contrahunt*,” that is, as he ought to have explained, that they did not practise the form of *Sponsalia de praesenti*, or matrimony strictly so called, as usually as the English and some other nations of those times. This is also what it seems more probable St. Bernard alluded to in the phrase *contract of marriages* (above *Not. 48*); for he does not upbraid the marriages themselves, but merely remarks the want of the contract peculiarly distinguished by the name *conjugium* or *matrimonium*, viz. the *Sponsalia de praesenti*. That the other form was more generally followed in Ireland, and to a much later period than St. Bernard's days, is positively stated by Good, an English priest, who writing at Limerick, where he kept a school about *A. 1566*, says, (ap. Camden at the end of *Ireland*) that they used to celebrate marriage by *Sponsalia de futuro*, not *de praesenti*. The same system continued more or less in some other countries, until it was prohibited by the Council of Trent and the civil laws of Christian states. I may here observe that, although Good, *more majorum*, speaks badly enough of the Irish, yet he does not give occasion for a monstrous lie advanced by Ledwich, (*Ant. &c. p. 431.*) and attributed by him to Camden. What Camden has is taken from Good, who says, that the Irish “seldom marry out of their own town.” These plain words have been changed by Ledwich, and as if uttered by Camden, into the following; *Beyond the precincts of towns marriage was rarely contracted*. Who does not see, that there is a most material difference between these two passages? But any thing for Ledwich, so as that he might abuse the Irish. Good talks about their being prone to incest. Of this charge, which was connected with their not having been very strict with regard to the consanguineal impediments of marriage, an occasion will occur of treating hereafter.

§. VII. St. Malachy, doubting of his being sufficiently acquainted with the discipline of the Church, and wishing to be better informed concerning it, thought it adviseable to place himself for some time

under the instruction of the venerable Malchus, bishop of Lismore, who was then held in the highest estimation for his great learning and extraordinary virtue, joined with the gift of miracles, so that he was resorted to by persons not only from all parts of Ireland, but likewise from Scotland. Although an Irishman, he had been a monk of Winchester, whence he was taken to be raised to the see of Lismore. (53) He was probably the immediate successor of Mac-mic-Aeducan, who died in 1113. (54) St. Malachy, having received the benediction of his master Imar, was directed by his bishop Celsus, to this holy man, who was then far advanced in life, and remained with him some years at Lismore. His arrival there was probably about *A. D.* 1123. (55) During his stay there he became acquainted with Cormac Mac Carthy, the pious king of Desmond, who was in 1127 deprived of his principality by Turlogh O'Connor, king of Connaught, his brother Donogh Mac Carthy being set up in his stead. Cormac bore his lot with great fortitude, and throwing himself into the hands of Malchus refused to be treated with distinction, and requested, rather than run the risk of occasioning bloodshed, to be allowed to lead a pious and retired life. Malchus, admiring his resignation and fervour, provided him with a small house, and placed him under the direction of St. Malachy. There he lived on bread and salt and water, leading also in other respects a penitential life. He was delighted with St. Malachy's society, and became exceedingly attached to him. After some time it pleased God to restore Cormac to his kingdom, by means of Conor O'Brian, who, from having been king of Munster, (56) then held the principality of Thomond under a sort of vassalage to Turlogh O'Connor. Determined on shaking it off, he repaired to Lismore, visited Cormac in his poor habitation, and encouraged him to follow him, engaging himself that he would re-instate him. Cormac was

unwilling to quit his retirement ; but, as the good of the country required his appearing among his friends, he was ordered by Malchus and advised by St. Malachy to submit, and was soon after re-established in Desmond by Conor O'Brian, assisted by various chieftains, who banished Donogh McCarthy to Connaught. (57) On this occasion Cormac erected, or set about erecting, two churches at Lismore, and one at Cashel. (58)

(53) St. Bernard, *Vit. S. Mal. cap. 3.* Usher thought, (*Not. ad Ep. 38. Sylloge*) that Malchus of Lismore was the same as Malchus of Waterford, whom we have treated of *Chap. xxv. §. 6.* Besides the name, the circumstance of his having been a monk of Winchester seems to render this opinion very probable. But St. Bernard says that Malchus was removed from Winchester straight to Lismore, whereas the original see of the Malchus already mentioned was Waterford. There were in those times other persons named *Malchus*, one of whom is mentioned by St. Bernard himself (*ib. cap. 5.*) ; and it seems to have been a latinized appellation for one or other of those many Irish names that began with *Maol*. There might have been two persons, so called, monks at Winchester. If a union really took place between Waterford and Lismore, as Keating (or perhaps his translator) insinuates to have been ordered by the synod of Rathbreasil, (see *Chap. xxv §. 14.*) it might be supposed that one and the same Malchus was bishop of both sees. But the matter is so obscure, that I cannot pretend to decide upon it. Gratianus Lucius (Lynch) held the same opinion (*Cambr. Ev. p. 167*) as Usher, but has given us no proof of it.

(54) See above §. 2. Ware and Harris have (at *Lismore*) a pretended bishop, whom they call *Gilla-Mochudu O'Rebacain*, and whose death they assign to *A. D. 1129*. But surely Malchus was bishop there some years before that time, as is clear from S. Malachy's having repaired to him thither about 1123. In consequence of that mistake they were puzzled as to the precise period of Malchus' incumbency, Ware saying that he flourished in 1140, (when he was probably dead) and Harris, that it was in 1134. Indeed Harris has shamefully bungled the whole

business, telling us elsewhere, (see above *Not.* 44.) that St. Malachy went to Lismore when only twelve years old, that is, about *A.* 1107. He throws in a caveat, that Malchus was not yet a bishop. Had he read or did he understand St. Bernard, who tells us in the clearest terms, that Malchus was a bishop, and a celebrated one, of Lismore before he was waited upon by St. Malachy? The O'Rebacain, whom he and Ware have foisted into the see of Lismore, was undoubtedly no other than an abbot there of that name, who died in 1128 (see Archdall at *Lismore*) a date, to which Ware, as usual, added a year.

(55) As St. Malachy was ordained priest, when about 25 years of age, and accordingly about *A.* 1120, and was afterwards employed as Vicar general of the diocese of Armagh for some time, which can scarcely be supposed to have been less than two or three years, it will follow that he did not go to Lismore until about 1123.

(56) See above §. 1.

(57) The substance of these transactions is related by St. Bernard (*ib. cap.* 3.) without mentioning names or times. Yet he has the name of Cormac, *cap.* 6. The details are given in the Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1127. According to them Cormac became a pilgrim, and took a crosier (pilgrim's staff) at Lismore. His liberation is related in the following manner: "In the same year Conor O'Brian disavowed the authority of Turlogh O'Conor, and went to Lismore, and gave his land to Cormac Mac-Carthy, and brought him again into the world, and made him king of Desmond, and dethroned and banished Donogh Mac-Carthy into Connaught; in doing which he was abetted by Turlogh O'Brian (his brother), and by O'Sullivan, O'Donoghue, O'Mahony, O'Keefe, O'Moriarty, and O'Faolain."

(58) Same Annals *ib.* This church of Cashel either must not be confounded with Cormac's Chapel, (see *Chap.* XXII. § 6.) or must be considered as not newly built but only repaired. And, in fact, the said Annals state, (at *A.* 1138.) that Cormac Mac-Carthy had built or repaired the church called *Teampoll Chormaic* in Cashel. They add, that it was so called from him. But, if they meant what is known by the name of *Cormac's Chapel*, this cannot be correct, for the architecture of this building indicates a period long prior to the times of Cormac Mac Carthy; and it would

have been more proper to say, that two Cormacs had been concerned in it, *viz.* Mac-Culinan the original founder and Mac-Carthy the repairer. It is very probable, that Cormac's chapel was injured in 1121, when Turlogh O'Conor burned Cashel (above §. 1.) and that this gave occasion to a reparation by Cormac Mac-Carthy. Perhaps what said Annals have about his having built two churches in Lismore ought to be understood in the same manner; for Turlogh had burned also Lismore. Whether M'Carthy erected a new church in Cashel, or only repaired an old one, the work was not completed in 1127, whereas the consecration of it did not, as will be seen, take place until 1134.

§. VIII. While St. Malachy was at Lismore, his sister died. He was so displeased with her on account of her worldly mode of living, that he had determined never to see her again during life. On a certain night he heard in a dream a voice announcing to him, that his sister was standing out in the court-yard and had tasted nothing for thirty days. Awaking he immediately understood what food she wanted, and recollected that for said number of days he had not offered for her the bread of life from heaven. This he took care to repeat; and after some short time she appeared to him in a vision as having reached the door of the church, but so as not to be able to enter it, and clothed in a dark garment. As he continued to offer for her, she appeared to him a second time, in a whitish dress and as within the church, but not allowed to touch the altar. But at length he saw her again, united with the assembly of the white-robed, and wearing a white garment. (59) Meanwhile Celsus and Imar were anxious, that St. Malachy should return to his own country, and accordingly wrote to him to that purpose. Being now well stored with what he had wished to learn, he obeyed their summons. His return was probably in 1127, the year in which he became intimate with Cormac Mac-Carthy at Lismore. (60) During his absence Celsus completed

in 1125 the reparation and roofing of the cathedral of Armagh, which had remained partly uncovered since 995, in which year the city had been laid waste by a dreadful conflagration caused by lightning. In 1126 he consecrated the church of St. Peter and Paul, which had been erected, or, as some say, re-erected by Imar O'Haedhagain, the same as Imar the master of St. Malachy. Afterwards he spent thirteen months out of his diocese, going through various parts of Ireland, preaching peace, harmony, and good conduct, and endeavouring to put a stop to the civil war, that raged throughout almost the whole island. He is said to have succeeded in establishing a truce for one year between the Conacian and Momonian princes. (61)

(59) S. Bernard, *ib. cap. 4.*

(60) Amidst other mistakes Harris says, (*Archbishops, &c. at Malachy*) that he returned to Ulster in 1120, and was then ordained priest by Celsus. But we have seen, that he was a priest before he went to Lismore, and that he did not go thither until later than 1120. One would imagine, that Harris had not read the Life by St. Bernard, although he refers to it. Besides its being positively stated, that St. Malachy was not only a priest but Vicar general of Armagh before he removed to Lismore, surely Harris ought to have perceived, that, as he celebrated mass at Lismore, he must have been then a priest.

(61) *Tr. Th. p. 300.* Of the dreadful state, in which the geatest part of Ireland was in those times, the reader will find sufficient proofs in the Annals of Innisfallen, at *A. 1125, 1126, 1127.*

§. ix. When St. Malachy returned to Ulster, the monastery of Bangor was waste, and seems to have been in that state for a considerable time, not having been re-established after some great devastation, which it had suffered. (62) Yet the lands belonging to it, which were extensive, still continued to be held by persons, who used to be called abbots, and who

were even elected to that sinecure situation. (63) They were then in possession of a maternal uncle of St. Malachy, who offered them all up to him, together with Bangor itself, that he might build or rather rebuild a monastery there. But the saint was so much addicted to poverty, that content with merely the site of the monastery he refused to accept of the lands, and allowed them to be transferred to another person, who was chosen, according to custom, for that purpose ; for his uncle resigned them, and placed himself under his direction as a monk. (64) St. Malachy taking with him, by order of Imar, about ten brethren, set about erecting the necessary accommodations at Bangor, on which occasion, as he was cutting wood with an axe, one of them happened to put himself in way of the stroke and received a most violent blow on the back, by which it was apprehended that he was almost killed. But providentially he was scarcely hurt, and his escape was considered miraculous. In a few days they finished a handsome oratory constructed of boards, and, when every thing was ready, St. Malachy, according to the direction of Imar, re-established, as head of the community, the old discipline of Bangor as it had been formerly, with this only difference that the number of monks was smaller. A man named Malchus, who was sick at Bangor, was urged by an evil spirit to be hostile to the saint, who, on being informed of it, recurring to prayer cured him both of his infirmity and of the temptaton. Malchus, when recovered, was not ungrateful, and embraced the monastic state under him. He was brother to Christian, who afterwards became abbot of Mellifont. A clerk of the name of Michael, whom he cured twice of illness, also joined him, and the reputation and community of St. Malachy went on constantly increasing.

(62) St. Bernard says (*ib. cap. 5.*) that Bangor had been for-

merly destroyed by pirates, and that, seemingly as if on that occasion, 900 monks were reported to have been killed by them on one day. This was probably an exaggerated tradition. Of such great slaughter I find no mention in our Irish documents; but we read that Tanudius, abbot of Bangor, was killed by the Danes in 956 (*AA SS.* p. 107.) It is probable, that on this occasion many of the monks also were put to death; and perhaps we may thence date the devastation spoken of by St. Bernard. To its having been so ancient cannot be opposed the circumstance of one or two abbots of Bangor being mentioned as having lived between that year and St. Malachy's times; for, although monks had ceased to be there, the title of abbot and the emoluments were, as will be just seen, still continued. Harris thought (*State of the County of Down*, p. 64.) that St. Bernard applied by mistake the slaughter of the British monks of Bancor by the Northumbrian king Aedilfrid (see *Not.* 12. to *Chap.* xv.) to the Bangor of Ireland. But Aedilfrid and his army were not pirates, such as St. Bernard mentions; and the number of those British monks killed was much greater than that stated by him. Harris has the infamous lie about Aedilfrid having been instigated by Augustin the monk.

(63) If it be true, that Gillebert had been abbot of Bangor, before he became bishop of Limerick, (see *Chap.* xxv. §. 9.) he must have been an abbot of this sort, or what the French call an *Abbè Commendataire*. The abuse of church lands, particularly those belonging to monasteries, being possessed by laymen had long since crept into the church. In England we find it in the eighth century, and at the same period it was usual in France, where the possessors of abbatial lands were called *Abbacornites*. (See Ducange at *Abbacornites*, and at *In commandum mittere*. The earliest instance I meet with of it in Ireland is that of the occupation of the revenues of the see of Armagh by the lay so called archbishops. But about the times we are now treating of it became rather prevalent; and Giraldus Cambrensis informs us, (*Itiner. Cambr. L. c.* 4.) that there were several lay abbots in Ireland and Wales. The passage is curious and worth transcribing: "Notandum autem, quod haec ecclesia (S. Paterni) sicut et aliae per Hiberniam et Walliam plures, abbatem laicum habet. Usus enim inolevit et prava consuetudo, ut viri, in parochia potentes.

“ primo tamquam oeconomi seu potius ecclesiarum patroni et de-
 “ fensores a clero constituti, postea processu temporis aucta
 “ cupidine totum sibi jus usurparent, et terras omnes cum
 “ exteriore possessione sibi impudenter appropriarent; solum
 “ altaria; cum decimis et obventionibus clero relinquentes; et
 “ haec ipsa filiis suis clericis et cognatis assignantes. Tales
 “ itaque defensores seu potius ecclesiarum destructores abbates se
 “ vocari facere, et tam nomen indebitum quam rem quoque sibi
 “ assignari praesumpsere.” He says, that those lay abbots, retaining
 the lands and other properties to themselves, left to the clergy only
 the altars and the tithes and dues. As to tithes, he alluded to
 Wales; for they were not paid in Ireland before his time. In the
 course of ages this system became very general in Ireland, parti-
 cularly in Ulster; and hence the origin of that singular class of
 persons called *Corbes* and *Erenachs*, concerning whom much has
 been written but in great part incorrect. Usher has left a disserta-
 tion on this subject, (see *Collectan. de Reb. Hibern. vol. 1.*) which
 he wrote when young, and in which he pretends, that the *Corbes*
 were originally the same as the *Chorepiscopi*, of which *Corbe* was
 a corruption. This was a fundamental mistake, and has been
 guarded against by Ware, (*Antiq. cap. 17.*) who justly observes
 from Colgan, that *Corba* or *Comorba* signifies a successor in an
 ecclesiastical dignity. Usher himself tells us, that “some of the
 Irish have detorted the name in Latin to *Converbius*, or *Confur-
 bach* in Irish, which importeth as much as *conterraneous*.” This
 was no detortion, but founded on the true meaning of the name.
 The original word is *Comhorba*, (pronounced *Covorba*) derived
 from *Comh* (*con* in Latin) and *forba*, *i. e.* a district, landed estate,
 or patrimony; and which by a certain usage was applied to the
 successors of distinguished persons in ecclesiastical situations, as
 if signifying joint-partners. Colgan writes; (*Tr. Th. p. 8.*) “Vox
 “ Hibernica *Comhorba*, si vocis etymon spectes, idem denotat ac
 “ *compraedianus*, sive ejusdem praedii, patrimonii, vel agri pos-
 “ sessor. Derivatur enim a *comh*, quod idem denotat ac *con*
 “ apud Latinos, et *forba*, *i. e.* praedium, ager, vel patrimonium.
 “ Usurpatur tamen passim apud priscos nostros scriptore pro suc-
 “ cessore in praelatura vel dignitate ecclesiastica. Unde et hodie
 “ videmus *comhorbanos* appellari, licet *plerumque sint seculares*,
 “ qui praefecturam tenent agrorum et praediorum, quae olim spec-

“*tabant ad jura divitum abbatiarum ; sive id ortum sit, quod majores familiarum, ex quibus illi comorbani assumuntur, se et sua praedia protectioni et jurisdictioni istarum abbatiarum sive monasteriorum voluntarie consecraverint, ut quidam opinantur ; sive ex eo quod, rebus ecclesiasticis paulatim labentibus, aliqui seculares titulum abbatis vel praelati in talibus monasteriis primo usurpaverint, et postea ad suos posteros transmiserint.*” (See also *ib. p. 293 and 630.*) Colgan has these words in a note to a passage, in which the successors of St. Fiech of Sletty are called his *comhorbans* ; and we have seen over and over the archbishops of Armagh styled comorbans of St. Patrick, the comorbans of Columbkille, of Finnian of Clonard, Barr of Cork, &c. &c. This title is often translated *heres*, which signifies not only an heir, but an owner or possessor, apparently the primitive meaning of *heres*, like that of the German word *herr*. Thus Usher has (*Prim. p. 860*) from the Annals of Ulster ; “*Duo heredes S. Patricii, nempe Forrannanus—et Dermotus—quieverunt.*” The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 295.*) call them *comorbans* of St. Patrick. It is usually joined with the name of the founder of a church ; thus we read of the comorbans of St. Patrick, of Columbkille, of Adamnan not as abbot of Hy but as founder of Raphoe, of St. Iarlath of Tuam, of Comgall, &c. Yet sometimes it occurs united with the name of a church, as the *comorban of Inniscatthy*, the *comorban of the church of St. Brigid of Armagh*, a title given (*Tr. Th. p. 299.*) to Gormgal Laighsech, who died in 1085. And hence we see, that this name was used not only for bishops and abbots, but likewise became gradually extended to persons holding minor ecclesiastical dignities.

In the above quoted passage Colgan observes, that in his time the comorbans were mostly laymen. After the synod of Kells, which defined the episcopal sees, we find but few instances of our bishops being called *comorbans* ; and this title fell into disuse also as to regular abbots. The laymen, who usurped old ecclesiastical livings, that had belonged to decayed or neglected monasteries and churches, appropriated it to themselves ; and we find in later times a great number of comorbans, or, as corruptly called, Corbas or Corbes of this kind, chiefly in Ulster, as may be seen from the grand Inquisition, held in the year 1609, for the county of Tyrone and the other escheated counties, now in the

Rolls Office, Dublin, and abstracts from which are to be found among Harris' MSS. in the library of the Dublin Society. But an inquiry into this subject would lead me beyond the times, which I intend to treat of; and let it suffice to observe, that several of these corbes possessed even lands belonging to episcopal sees, paying, however, certain mensal dues to the bishops, who did not hold the lands in demesne. (See Sir John Davies' *Letter to the Earl of Salisbury in Collectan. Vol. 1.*) This system had partly begun before the times of St. Malachy.

Yet there were in Colgan's times some comorbas or corbes in holy orders, and they are described by Sir John Davies, (*ib.*) on the authority of an Irish scholar, as provosts of collegiate churches under the name of *plebani*, a title corresponding to that of *pievano* in the North of Italy. The certificate of the Irish scholar, or his description of the *corbanatus*, which is given by Davies, has been republished by Spelman, (*Glossar. ad Corba*) who got his information from Usher, and by the Benedictine editors of Ducange, (at *Corba*) who, by the bye, were mistaken in quoting it as if from Isidorus Moscovius *De Majest. Mil. Eccl.* This sort of Corbes were probably the heads of churches, which had been formerly small bishoprics, and who, as they could not be called bishops, were distinguished by that name. But there were other corbes not in holy orders and usually married, although Davies seems to say that all the corbes had some order, meaning, I suppose, the tonsure. Colgan, however, positively states, that the greatest part of them were mere laymen. This much is certain, that the corbes or comorbas were not in general, as Usher, Spelman, and others would fain insinuate, the substitutes for chorepiscopi, but persons occupying the church lands, which had formerly belonged to dignitaries of various ranks. Harris, in his usual mode of adding some mistake to Ware's works, says (*Antiq. p. 235.*) that the Corbes were anciently married men till celibacy was enjoined the clergy. What confusion! We do not find any married corbes or comorbas until very long indeed after the law of celibacy was established; and the married corbes, who appeared in late times, were either not clergymen in any sense of the word, or at most had received only some minor order, *ex. c.* the tonsure.

Besides the corbes there was a much more numerous description

of persons somewhat like them, but considered as of an inferior rank, viz. the Erenachs. This name originally meant archdeacons, as has been justly remarked by Usher, (on *Corbes*, &c.) Spelman, (*ad Corba*) Ware, (*Antiq. cap. 17.*) &c. In Irish it is written *Airchinneach*, *Airchindeach*, or *Airchidneach*. Colgan's conjecture (*Tr. Th. p. 631.*) of its being perhaps derived from the Greek *ethnarches*, as if signifying the *head of a people*, is quite futile; and he himself was sometimes obliged to translate it *archidiaconus*. According to the ancient discipline the archdeacons were the managers and economes of the property of the church. By degrees this duty fell into the hands of laymen, who consequently assumed the title of *archdeacons*. This happened also in France. In the Capitularies it is more than once enjoined, *ut archidiaconi non sint laici*. In an old document (apud Catellum, *L. 5. Rerum Occitan. p. 872.*) we read; "*Ut tunc temporis erat mos milites tenere archidiaconatus.*" Ordericus Vitalis (*L. 3. p. 496.*) says, that about *A. D.* 1066 Fulcoius son of Ralph de Caldreio gave to monks an archdeaconry, which he held in fief from his predecessors under the archbishop of Rouen. (See more in Ducange at *Archidiaconatus.*) In the middle ages we find several archdeacons in one and the same diocese, some called *maiores*, others *minores*. (*Gallia Christiana in Episc. Antissiodor. No. 58.*) Hincmar of Rheims writes in his letter to the Church of Tournay, quoted by Usher (*ib.*); "*Ut pro constituendis ministerialibus ecclesiasticis præmium non accipiat (episcopus) sed archipresbyteros et archidiaconos eligat, facultatum ecclesiasticarum dispensatores,*" &c. In course of time the Erenachs became exceedingly numerous in Ireland. They were universally laymen, except that they were tonsured, on which account they were ranked among the *Clerici* or Clerks. In an inquisition taken for the county of Tyrone in 1608 we read; "*In qualibet dictarum baroniarum præter illas terras, quæ antehac possidebantur ac modo possidentur ab hominibus nunc laicis, sunt aliae quaedam terræ, de quibus quidam clerici sive homines literati, qui vocantur Erinaci, ab antiquo seisisi fuerunt.*" Then it adds, that each of these erenachs used to pay, and was bound to do so, a certain subsidy, reflections, and yearly pension to the archbishop or bishop, in whose diocese the lands held by them were situated, in proportion to the quantity of land and the custom of the country. Usher observes.

(*ib*) that in the dioceses of Derry and Raphoe the bishop got a third part, the other two thirds being reserved for the repairs of churches, hospitality, and Erenach's maintenance. In fact the erenachs were the actual possessors of old church lands, out of which they paid certain contributions either in money or kind towards ecclesiastical purposes. Davies says (*ib.*) ; " The church land (in Monaghan) was either monastery land, corbe-land, or erenach's land ; for it did not appear unto us, that the bishop had any land in demesne, but certain mensal duties of the corbes and erenachs ; neither did we find, that the parsons and vicars had any glebe land at all in this country." " There are," he states, " few parishes of any compass in extent, where there is not an erenach ;" which he derives from a right of *juspatronatus* or advowson. This might have been sometimes the case, but was not generally so. Besides keeping the church in order, exercising hospitality, and giving alms, " he was also to make a weekly commemoration of " the founder in the church ; he had always *primam tonsuram*, " but took no other orders. He had a voice in the Chapter, when " they consulted about their revenues, and paid a certain yearly " rent to the bishop, besides a fine upon the marriage of every " of his daughters, which they call a *Loughinipy* ; he gave a " subsidy to the bishop at his first entrance into his bishopric : " the certainty of all which duties appear in the bishop's register ; and these duties grew unto the bishop first, because the " erenach could not be created nor the church dedicated without " the consent of the bishop." Here Davies goes still on the principle that the erenachs held the lands in virtue of a *juspatronatus* founded on grants made to churches by their ancestors ; but the fact is, that those erenachies consisted chiefly in usurpations made by laymen, or merely tonsured clerks, calling themselves *archdeacons*, who, as well as the so called comorbas or corbes, transmitted the church lands to their posterity, or at least to the sept, to which they belonged, according to the Irish laws of succession and inheritance. On the death of an Erenach, the sept used to elect another from among themselves, and, in case they did not agree, the bishop and clergy were authorized to interfere and chuse one out of said sept ; for they could not take the erenachy into their own hands. And if a whole sept became extinct, it was necessary to look out for another, to which it should be transferred, and which

would be vested with the right of electing the erenach, under the same conditions and charges, without alteration, as those observed by the former erenachs. Similar regulations existed with regard to the corbes, and much may be seen concerning them and some other collateral points in the Inquisitions in Harris' MSS. above mentioned, in which, by the bye, there are some foolish and groundless speculations relative to the origin of corbeships and erenachies. Harris himself is not sufficiently correct in what he has on these subjects in his additions to Ware (*Antiq. p. 233. seqq.*); but I shall not enlarge further on them, having said as much as may suffice to illustrate the allusions to them in such part of our ecclesiastical history as I have undertaken to treat of; merely adding, that the corbes differed from the erenachs in their possessing more extensive lands, and sometimes having erenachs under them, whereas the erenach's power and influence were of an inferior kind. Besides, many corbes held lands, that had belonged to old abbeys, independently, it seems, of the bishops; and such was St. Malachy's uncle, who was in possession of the property of the monastery of Bangor, and who was called *comorb* (tantamount to *abbot*) of Bangor. On the contrary, the erenachs were perpetual tenants of the bishops, under whom they held their lands. Add, that some corbes were in holy orders and heads of collegiate churches; whereas the erenachs had no higher order than the tonsure.

The name of *Termon lands* is often given to some of those, which the corbes and erenachs were possessed of. Concerning this name Usher (on *Corbes, &c.*) says, that "*Tearmuin* is used " in the Irish tongue for a sanctuary, (whence Termon-Fechin, a " town belonging unto the archbishop of Armagh, hath its denomination, as it were the sanctuary of Fechin) and may well be " thought to have been borrowed by the Irish, as many other " words are, from the Latin *terminus*, by reason that such privileged places were commonly designed by special marks and " bounds. *Terminus sancti loci habeat signa circa se*, says an " ancient synod of Ireland; and the old law of the Bavarians " (*Tit. 4. §. 1.*) *Si quis servum Ecclesiae vel ancillam ad fugi-* " *endum suaserit, et eos foras terminum duxerit.* I conclude, " therefore, that Termions were indeed free land, but free from " all claim of temporal lords, not of the Church, being truly *ter-*

"*ritorium ecclesiasticum*." Colgan also, speaking of another Tearman-Fechin in the county of Sligo, explains it (*AA. SS.* p. 141.) as a sanctuary or refuge. But *Terminus* in the ecclesiastical style means originally district or territory; the idea of sanctuary was secondary. Gregory of Tours says; (*Lib. 1. de Miracul. cap. 59.*) "*Ecclesia est vici Iciodorensis sub termino Turonicae urbis.*" The patrimony of the Roman church is called by Pope John VIII. *Terminus sancti Petri ac Pauli*. Lotharius the third decreed, A.D. 1132, "*Ecclesiam parochialem S. Servatii solam in Trajectensi urbe habere decimas et terminum.*" (See more in Ducange, *ed. Bened. at Terminus.*) Some have thought, that *Termon* was the same as *terra monachorum*, or in French *Terre-moine*, the land of monks; but (as remarked *ib. at Termonlandes*) this is an idle derivation. Nor is there any necessity for deriving it from *terra immunis*, free land, although it is true that the church lands were, at least sometimes, exempt from tribute in Ireland, and some of them were considered as sanctuaries.

(64) St. Bernard, *ib. cap. 5*. Here we have an instance of the election of a cormoba or corbe, undoubtedly by the sept which had got possession of the lands, that formerly belonged to the monastery.

§. x. At this time the adjoining see of Connor being vacant, as it had been for many years, St. Malachy was chosen to fill it, but declined accepting of it, until he was ordered by Imar and his metropolitan Celsus to submit. Accordingly he was consecrated bishop, when about thirty years of age, but not, as is usually said, as early as the year 1124. (65) This diocese had been so much neglected, that every thing was in disorder, and he had never before met with a set of people in so deep a state of corruption. They made no offerings to the churches; did not contract lawful marriages; (66) neglected confession, nor was there any one who asked for penances, or who was to prescribe them. For the ministers of the altar were very few, and, had there been more of them, what could they have done amidst such a people? There was neither preaching nor singing

in the churches. St. Malachy finding his utmost exertions necessary, made use of all possible means to reclaim them and to introduce a correct system of discipline. He admonished them publicly and privately, used to stop them in the streets for the purpose of instructing them, and spent whole nights praying for their conversion. Attended by his faithful disciples of Bangor, whom he still continued to govern, he visited in all directions the smaller towns and country parts of his diocese, constantly on foot, and conducting himself as a really apostolical man. He suffered great hardships, met with many repulses, and received injuries. Yet he persevered, and, with God's assistance, succeeded at length in softening that hard-hearted people and bringing them to a sense of their duty. Instead of certain Irish practices of theirs he introduced the Roman ones, got the churches rebuilt, ordained clergymen for them, and took care that the sacraments should be duly administered. Confession is frequented; the people flock to the churches; marriage is celebrated in a solemn manner; and in short every thing was so much changed for the better, that what the Lord had said by the Prophet; *Those, who were not my people, are now my people*; might be justly applied to that diocese.

(65) St. Bernards' words, (*ib. cap. 6.*) “*Tricesimo ferme actatis suae anno Malachias consecratus episcopus,*” have been understood by Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 300.*) as referring to *A. D.* 1124, reckoning from his birth in 1095. He has been followed by Ware and Harris (*Bishops at Connor*). But this date cannot agree with St. Malachy's having been acquainted, before he returned to Ulster, at Lismore with Cormac Mac-Carthy, and his having been there when Cormac was liberated in 1127, a date which I find no sufficient reason for calling in question. We may suppose, that he was consecrated in that same year; for it is clear that he was but a short time at Bangor when he was appointed bishop; and St. Bernard's round number, *tricesimo ferme*, must be explained

not as meaning exactly or nearly thirtieth, but as we would say, *about thirty*, although in all likelihood St. Malachy was then thirty two years of age. *Ferme* is often used for *thereabouts*, *more or less*.

(66) The charge here made by St. Bernard is thus expressed; *Non legitima inire conjugia*. This is relative not to the neglect of marriage, but perhaps to the non-observance of the rule of the canonists, as to the seven degrees, which has been treated of above *Not. 51*. This rule had not been generally received in Ireland, and indeed it could scarcely be expected that it should, considering the system of clanships, and the Irish practice of marrying chiefly within their septs. It was found so difficult to observe it any where, that it was modified not very long after St. Bernard's death. He does not say, that the people of Connor did not marry; for were this his meaning he would have omitted the word *legitima*. Or, what is much more probable, St. Bernard alluded to the practice of not celebrating marriage by *sponsalia de praesenti*, but by those *de futuro*, a practice, which, however disapproved of by him, rendered marriage valid not only in Ireland but elsewhere. In short, he blamed, as followed in the diocese of Connor, that system, which, he tells us, was reformed by St. Malachy at Armagh, where in all likelihood the new matrimonial regulation consisted merely in substituting the *Sponsalia de praesenti* for those *de futuro*, or adding the former to the latter. (See *Not. 52*.) St. Bernard does not say, what Harris (at Connor) falsely attributes to him, that the people were adulterers; but Harris did not understand the meaning of *non legitima inire conjugia*.

§. XI. After some time it happened that Connor was destroyed by a king of a northern part of Ireland, and St. Malachy, being obliged to quit that country, went with 120 brethren to Munster, where he was received with a most cordial welcome by his friend Cormac Mac-Carthy, king of Desmond. This must have taken place after the death of Celsus, which in all appearance occurred while St. Malachy was still at Connor. (67) Celsus was very anxious to put a stop to the hereditary succes-

sion, which had continued so long in his family, and to be succeeded by Malachy. Accordingly, perceiving his end approaching, he drew up a sort of will, in which he declared his intention that Malachy should be appointed, on his demise, as the person fittest to govern the primatial see of Ireland. This he communicated to persons both present and absent, and particularly to the two kings of Munster, where he then happened to be, whom as well as others he enjoined by the authority of St. Patrick to exert themselves for that purpose. Some short time before his death a woman of tall stature and reverend countenance appeared in a vision to St. Malachy, and on being asked who she was, answered, that she was the wife of Celsus, (that is, the church of Armagh). She then handed him a pastoral staff, which she held in her hand, and disappeared. (68) After a few days Celsus being on his death-bed sent his staff or crosier to Malachy as the person, who was to succeed him; which, when he saw, he perceived that it was exactly like that, which he had seen in the vision. Celsus was then at Ardpatrik in the now county of Limerick, where he died on the 1st of April, *A. D.* 1129, in the 50th year of his age. His body was removed, according to his will, to Lismore, and honourably interred there, in the burying place of the bishops, on the Thursday following, which in that year was the 4th of April. (69) His name is in the Roman martyrology at the 6th of April. (70) Some writers have made him an author, and speak of him as a very learned man; but I greatly doubt whether much credit be due to their assertions. (71)

(67) It is true that St. Bernard speaks (*cap.* 6.) of St. Malachy's going to Munster before he treats (*cap.* 7.) of the last proceedings and death of Celsus. But he must be understood as writ-

ing by anticipation, and as continuing his account of the personal transactions of St. Malachy. And in fact he says that, while the saint was reforming the diocese of Connor, &c. Celsus happened to fall sick; and his stating that Connor was not destroyed until *some years, annos aliquot*, after St. Malachy had undertaken the administration of it, obliges us to suppose, that he did not go with his 120 brethren to Munster before the death of Celsus, which occurred on the 1st of April, *A. D.* 1129. Now St. Malachy could not have been bishop of Connor prior to 1127, according to what we have seen above *Not.* 65. We must therefore allow for the *some years* of St. Bernard some longer time than what had elapsed before April 1129. Perhaps the devastation in which Connor was destroyed, was that of part of Ulster 1130 by Conor, son of Artgoil Mac-Lochlin, at the head of the forces of Tirconnel and Tirone. (See Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1130.)

(68) St. Bernard, *ib. cap.* 7. Hence in all appearance, as already observed, (*Not.* 75. to *Chap.* xxv.) Hammer took his fable of Celsus having been a married man.

(69) Four Masters and Colgan, *Tr. Th. p.* 300-301. See also the Annals of Innisfallen and of Mary's Abbey at *A.* 1129. Baronius was mistaken (*Note to the Roman Martyrology* at 6 April) in assigning his death to 1128. The Bollandists (at *Celsus, said day*) strangely observe, that Baronius' reason for the year 1128 was that the Ulster annals used to anticipate the common Christian era by one year. Had this been his reason, he should have marked not 1128, but 1130; for the Irish annals agree in affixing Celsus' death to 1129. Besides, that system of anticipation had ceased before the times we are now treating of.

(70) Its being placed at 6 April is owing to another mistake of Baronius, who was the first to insert it in the Roman Martyrology, which he revised by order of Gregory XIII. It was already in Molanus' Additions to Usuard, published in the year 1568. Not only the 4 Masters, but likewise Marian Gorman, who lived in the same century, has, in his martyrology, the death of Celsus at 1st April. As his interment was marked *iv.* April, this notation was probably mistaken for *vi.* April and thus adding a confu-

sion of said day with that of his death, this error seems to have originated.

(71) Ware (*Archbishops of Armagh*) refers to Brian Twine, who calls Celsus a *universal scholar*, and affirms from Bale (fine authority!) that he had spent some time at Oxford. And (*Writers at Celsus*) he says, that he wrote a Theological summary, which he was told had been extant (not published, as the English translator has) at Vienna. Then he speaks of certain letters and constitutions. That Celsus wrote some letters and regulations relative to ecclesiastical matters, and that he drew up a sort of a will, need not be denied; but these are not sufficient for reckoning him among the Irish writers.

§. XII. As soon as it was known at Armagh that Celsus was dead, Murchertach, or (according to his latinized name) Mauritius or Maurice, a son of Domnald the predecessor of Celsus, took possession of the see, which he retained, one way or another, for five years until his death. (72) Thus St. Malachy, who was far from being anxious to be removed to Armagh, was prevented from occupying it, notwithstanding the declaration of Celsus and the wish of the pious persons of those times. It was during Maurice's incumbency or usurpation that he went, as we have seen, to Munster, where, with the assistance of Cormac Mac-Carthy, he constructed a monastery in a place in that prince's kingdom, called *Ibrach*. (73) There he and the brethren were provided with every thing necessary, and the king often visited them, considering himself as a disciple of St. Malachy. In the attendance to the duties of the house the saint, although the superior and a bishop, performed in his turn every part of them as much at least as any of the brethren, setting them an example of monastic poverty and discipline.

He was probably still there, when Maurice O'Hindrectaigh, who is called comorban of St. Comgall, died at Armagh on the 3d of October, *A. D.* 1131. (74) Perhaps he was only a person, who had held

the lands, which had belonged to the monastery of Bangor, under the title of *comorban* or *corbe*. (75) In the same year died Moeliosa O'Foghlada, archbishop of Cashel, (76) and was succeeded by Domnald (not Donagh or Donat) O'Conaing, who held the see until 1137. To the year 1132 is assigned the death of a very eminent priest of Armagh, the blessed Maelbrigid Mac-Dolgen, who departed this life on the 27th of August in the eightieth year of his age, and the 52d of his priesthood. (77)

(72) *Tr. Th.* p. 301 and 303. St. Bernard *ib. cap.* 7. Ware and Harris, *Bishops of Armagh at Maurice*.

(73) Ware, who was greatly in error with regard to Ibrach in his *Coenoiba Cisterciencia* (at *Newry*) afterwards thought, (*Ant. cap.* 26. at *Cork*) that it was the same as the abbey near Cork called of St. Barr or Finbar. But the account, which he gives of this abbey, shows that he was mistaken. He says, that it was founded for Regular canons of the order of St. Augustin by king Cormac, that is, the Cormac friend of St. Malachy. Now the community, which St. Malachy governed at Ibrach, consisted not of Regular canons, but of monks of the old order of Bangor, or of St. Comgall, as is clear from St. Bernard. Next he says, that it was founded about the year 1134; but in this year St. Malachy was at Armagh, having already returned from Munster. It is therefore clear, that the abbey of St. Barr, otherwise called Gill-abbey, was quite different from the house of Ibrach. Alemand (*Hist. Mon. &c.* p. 54.) imagined, that Ibrach was the same as Beg-erin near Wexford, as if *Ibrach* were derived from the name of St. Ibar. This conjecture betrays his ignorance of Irish history. For Ibrach was, as St. Bernard states, in Cormac Mac-Carthy's kingdom, whereas Beg-erin certainly was not. It is strange that Butler (*Life of St. Malachy*) and some others have referred to this so clearly wrong opinion of Alemand. I have not the least doubt, but that Ibrach or *Ibrac*, as spelled by St. Bernard, was no other than the district still called *Iveragh* (*b* and *v* commutable in Irish) now a barony in the county of Kerry. The establishment formed there by St. Malachy seems to have ceased soon after his departure from Munster, as it is very pro-

bable that the brethren followed him back to Ulster, and we know that the monastery of Bangor, whence they had come, continued to exist after these times.

(74) *Tr. Th. p.* 303.

(75) See above §. 9. It is hard so think, that he could have been the superior of the monks of Bangor, whereas St. Malachy seems to have retained that office to himself; unless it might be said that he acted as a substitute for the saint, while attending to his diocese of Connor. It may be suspected, that Maurice O'Hindrectaigh was the uncle of St. Malachy, who, as we have seen, had possessed those lands, and who, being too old to follow the saint to Munster, had retired to Armagh. He is spoken of as a holy man; but I do not find him called uncle to St. Malachy.

(76) *Annals of Innisfallen at A.* 1131. 4 *Masters, ap. Tr. Th. p.* 308. and Ware, *Archbishops of Cashel.* Compare with *Chap. xxv. §.* 14.

(77) *Tr. Th. p.* 303.

§. XIII. Maurice had held the see of Armagh for three years, and consequently until 1132, when those, who were anxious to put an end to the usurpation, particularly Malchus of Lismore and Gilbert of Limerick, the apostolic legate, having assembled some bishops and chieftains, went in a body to where St. Malachy was, determined to use force if he should resist their plan for placing him on the see. After much expostulation on his part and their threatening him with excommunication, at length he submitted on condition of, in case of the peace of the Church being established and matters properly arranged, being allowed to return to his former spouse (Connor) and to his beloved state of poverty, from which, he said, they were dragging him. It seems, that he was then in his monastery of Ibrach, where he was in the habit of practising his system of poverty, and which, being in Munster, lay convenient for his being called upon by Malchus and Gilbert. His submitting to the demand made of him was chiefly owing to his recollection of the vision, in

which the pastoral staff of Celsus appeared as if handed to him, and he was afraid lest his further opposition might involve a resistance to the will of God. Accordingly he went to the diocese of Armagh, of which he undertook the care, as well as of its dependencies, but avoided entering the city, being apprehensive that bloodshed might be the consequence of his doing so. After two years Maurice died on the 17th of September in 1134, (78) having endeavoured, as much as he could, that his successor should be Niell a member of the same usurping family. This Niell, whose name has been latinized into *Nigellus*, was according to a very probable account, a brother of Celsus; for he is said to have been a son of Aidus and a grandson of a former archbishop Moeliosa. (79) At any rate, he belonged to that race, and their faction were preparing to install him, but were opposed by a king and several bishops and many pious persons, who assembled for the purpose of introducing St. Malachy into Armagh. A hostile party, headed by a very wicked man, placed themselves on a hill adjoining the place of assembly with the intention of rushing down and killing the king and St. Malachy. On his discovering their plan the saint entered a neighbouring church and prayed to God. All of a sudden clouds and darkness with great rain changed the day into night, and a dreadful storm came on accompanied with great thunder and lightning, which killed the leader of that party and some others of them, besides severely injuring others and dispersing the whole gang, while the storm and whirlind left St. Malachy's friends untouched, although not far distant. (80)

(78) *Ib.* p. 304. from the 4 Masters. This date agrees exactly with St. Bernard's account of Maurice having occupied the see for five years, reckoning from the death of Celsus in 1129.

(79) Colgan says, (*ib.*) that Niell was son of the Aidus, who died in 1108, and who was a son of Dubdalethe III. Elsewhere,

(*ib.*) owing to an omission of the press, Niell is called son of Dubdalethe. But (*ib. p.* 305.) Colgan makes him the son of the Aidus son of Moeliosa ; and O'Flaherty maintains (*MS. note*) that this is the true reading of the 4 Masters. If so, and if they were otherwise right, it will follow, that Niell was a brother of Celsus. (See *Chap.* xxv. §. 12.) But St. Bernard either did not know this, or did not choose to mention it.

(80) St. Bernard, *cap.* 7. According to the Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1134 the conspirators were from Tulach-og, now Tullyhog in the barony of Dungannon, county of Tirone, and the transaction is thus stated; "The Kineal Eogan (Tironians) of Tulach-Og conspired against Maolmaadhog (Malachy) bishop of Armagh, and twelve of them were struck dead by lightning on the very spot, where they were forming the conspiracy against the holy man."

§. xiv. St. Malachy was then conducted to Armagh as its bishop and primate of all Ireland, towards the latter end of that same year 1134, (81) being then 38 years old. (82) Niell, finding it necessary to make his escape, took with him two great ornaments of the cathedral, *viz.* the text of the Gospels, which had belonged to St. Patrick, and the celebrated staff, called the *staff of Jesus*. (83) Carrying about these objects of the people's highest respect, he was received every where with great attention, and favoured by numbers of persons in preference to St. Malachy. A powerful chieftain of the usurping family, whom the king, St. Malachy's friend, had, before he left Armagh, forced to swear, that he would keep peace with the bishop, and even to give him many hostages to that effect, still harboured evil designs against him, and, on the king's having retired, went to Armagh, where with some relatives and friends he formed a plot for putting the saint to death. They were, however, afraid of the people, and did not dare to attack him in public. But on an evening, when with all the clergy and a multitude of the faithful he was celebrating Vespers in the

church, that ill-disposed chieftain sent some persons to request, that he would call upon him for the purpose of their coming to amicable terms. To this the assistants replied, that it was rather his business to wait upon the bishop, and that the church was the fittest place for settling such matters. The messengers answered, that the chieftain was afraid of the crowd, by whom he was hated on account of their attachment to the bishop, and nearly killed a few days before. While they were thus contending, St. Malachy interfered, and said ; “ Brethren, allow me to imitate my master. In vain am I a christian, if I do not follow Christ. Perhaps I shall soften the tyrant by this act of humility ; and, if not, I shall come off victorious by, although the ecclesiastical pastor, paying to a layman an attention, which he owed to me. You will be edified by my example. And what if I should happen to be killed ? I do not refuse to die, so as that you may receive an example of life from me. A bishop, as has been said by the chief of bishops, ought not to domineer over God’s inheritance, but be a model to the flock, and such a one as was exhibited by him, who humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death.” After some other words to this purpose he set out amidst the tears and supplications of all the bystanders, who requested that his wish to die for Christ should not induce him to leave the flock of Christ desolate. He was accompanied by only three of his disciples, who were ready to die along with him. On entering the house he found himself surrounded by armed men, who, on his appearing, seemed stupified, and did not lift a hand against him. The chief of the party, instead of attacking him, rose up to receive him in an honourable manner, and the very persons, who had meditated his death, offered him peace, which was soon concluded on a firm and solid footing, so that his former enemies became attached to him. As to Niell, he was soon after obliged to desist from

his pretensions and to give up the reliques or ornaments, which he had carried off. St. Malachy had it now in his power to exercise his ministry with perfect freedom, and was indefatigable in his exertions. Yet he had still some enemies; but his friends took care to guard him both day and night against their snares. A prating fellow, who used to insult the saint and constantly speak ill of him, was punished by his tongue having swelled and rotted, from which he continued to throw out worms for seven days until at length he died. On an occasion of St. Malachy's preaching to the people a woman of the usurping family interrupting him made use of the most opprobrious and blasphemous expressions against him, calling him a hypocrite, an invader of other people's inheritance, &c. He made no answer; but she was struck with madness, and, crying out that she was suffocated by Malachy, expired not long after in a horrid manner.

(81) Annals of Innisfallen, *ib.* and 4 Masters, *ap. Tr. Th. p.* 304.

(82) The *anno aetatis suae tricesimo octavo* of St. Bernard must be understood of 38 years complete, whereas St. Malachy was born, as we have seen, in 1095 and apparently towards the latter end of the year, so that he was not as yet 39 years old when he entered Armagh after the death of Maurice in September, A. D. 1134.

(83) Concerning this staff, see *Chap. iv. §. 12.*

§. xv. In the same year, 1134, Imar O'Haedhagain, who had been St. Malachy's master, died at Rome, whither he had gone on a pilgrimage. (84) In said year a synod was held in Cashel by the archbishop, Domnald O'Conaing, and the bishops of Munster, who consecrated the church, which had been built or re-built there by Cormac Mac-Carthy. (85) This church must not be confounded with the great cathedral of Cashel, which, as generally known, was

not erected until many years later by Donald O'Brian about the time of the arrival of the English in Ireland. (86) I find it stated, that in the same year the cathedral of Tuam was stormed and forcibly entered by the Dalcassians, and that Derry, the churches of Rath-luirg (Rathlure) Raphoe, and Clonard, part of Cong and Eithne, Roscommon, Rossmor, and several other principal churches were burned and plundered by the Momonians headed by their king Conor O'Brian. These devastations must have been a part of those committed by the great army, composed of Irish and Danes, which he and other princes led in that year against Leth-cuinn or the northern half of Ireland. (87) In the following year Cumea-mor Macconmara (Macnamara) king of Ibh-Caisin, the chief plunderer of the cathedral of Tuam, was killed by the Desmonians under Cormac Mac-Carthy, who ravaged Thomond. (88) Other instances of this disgraceful mode of warfare and want of respect for churches occur in those times. Thus Kildare was plundered by Dermot O'Brian and others in 1136; and in the same year Clonard was pillaged and destroyed by the people of Breffny and Fermanagh. Even Cormac Mac-Carthy is said to have burned a place called *Maighe Deiscirt*, both houses and churches. (89) After this period I find no further mention of Malchus bishop of Lismore, and, as he was very old when St. Malachy first placed himself under his direction about the year 1123, (90) it may be fairly conjectured that he died not long after St. Malachy got full possession of Armagh. This appears more probable than that he lived until 1150, as some have supposed who made him the same as a bishop of Lismore named Moelmonech O'Lonsech. In 1135 died the blessed Fiachrius a very holy elder of Clonard. (91) Whether the title of *elder* given to him indicate that he was a bishop, as some have thought, I will not pretend to decide. To the same year is affixed the

death of Moeliosa O'Hamire, who appears as the second bishop of Waterford. Domnald O'Dubhai or Dubthaigh, a very wise man, who was bishop of Clonmacnois and of Elphin, called comorban of St. Kieran and archbishop of Connaught, died in 1136 at Clonfert, where he was buried on St. Patrick's day. From his having been honoured with the title of *archbishop of Connaught* some writers have concluded, that he was also bishop of Tuam. But, had he been such, why not styled *comorban of St. Iarlath*, as the bishops of Tuam usually were? It is more probable, that said title was given to him merely in an honorary manner, on account of his particular merit and the esteem he was held in (92). Nor was there as yet any Connaught bishop regularly entitled to the name of *archbishop*.

(84) 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. p.* 303. Inar's name is in the Carthusian martyrology at 12 November; but, according to Marian Gorman and the martyrology of Donegal, he died on the 13th of August.

(85) See above §. 7. and *Not.* 58. The Annals of Innisfallen have at A. 1134; "The church built by Cormac Mac-Carthy in Cashel was consecrated this year by the archbishop and bishops of Munster, at which ceremony the nobility of Ireland, both clergy and laity, were present." Ware (*Antiq. cap.* 29 at *Cashel*) states, from the Annals of the Priory of the island of All saints, that after the *rebuilding* of this church it was solemnly consecrated, and a synod held there in the year 1134. See also Harris, *Archbishops of Cashel*, p. 464.

(86) Dr. Milner fell (*Tour in Ireland, Letter* 14.) into a strange mistake on this point. Having made mention of Cormac's chapel, which, he says, was consecrated in the year 900, he adds; "A much more spacious and elegant cathedral was added to this above two centuries later, being consecrated, and a synod held in it, A. D. 1134; at which time the former church began to be used as a chapter-house. Thus he confounded the church, that was consecrated in 1134, with the spacious cathedral, which was not erected until about forty years later. It is very odd that he

did, whereas both Ware and Harris expressly and clearly distinguish them, (*loc. citt.*) representing the church consecrated in 1134, and which they supposed to be the same as Cormac's chapel rebuilt, as quite different from the great cathedral afterwards newly erected by Donald O'Brian.

(87) See the Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1134. Eithne and Rossmor, by which name various places might have been called, were probably in Connaught. There is a river, formerly named Ethne, which runs between the counties of Longford and Westmeath.

(88) *Ib.* at *A.* 1135. Ibh-Caisin was in Thomond.

(89) *Ib.* at *A.* 1136.

(90) See above §.7. (91) *AA. SS.* p. 407.

(92) See concerning him *ib.* p. 217. and Ware and Harris at Clonmacnois, Tuam, and Elphin.

CHAP. XXVII.

St. Malachy makes a visitation of Munster—Pestilence in Ireland—Death of Moeliosa Moelcolumb—St. Malachy retires to the bishopric of Down, and appoints Gelasius his successor in Armagh—Death of Domnald O'Conaing, archbishop of Cashel—and of Giolla Criost bishop of Clogher—Cormac Mc Carthy murdered—Death of Macbrigid O'Brolchan, suffragan bishop of Armagh—St. Malachy goes to Rome to procure the pallium for the sees of Armagh and Cashel—appointed legate by the Pope—Patrick bishop of Limerick consecrated by the bishop of Canterbury—Gelasius archbishop of Armagh, makes a visitation throughout Connaught—Synods held in various places by St. Malachy—Some of the monks of Clarivau sent by St. Bernard to form a monastery in Ireland—Cistercian house of Mellifont founded—Disputes between O'Conor of Connaught and O'Melaghlin of Meath—Great Synod under Muredach O'Dubhthaic bishop of Tuam—Another synod—

Several miracles wrought by St. Malachy—He calls a council at Lismore on account of a man denying the Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist—Different monasteries and oratories erected by St. Malachy—He rebuilds or repairs the church of Down—Synod of Holmpatrick—St. Malachy sets out for France to procure the palliums from Pope Eugene III.—Arrives at Clarivau, takes sick and dies there.—Different cistercian abbeys founded in Ireland—Cardinal Paparo arrives in Ireland—Synod of Kells convoked—names of the bishops who attended that synod.—Palliums bestowed on the sees of Armagh, Cashel, Dublin and Tuam—Archbishop of Armagh declared primate—Suffragan sees appointed for the four metropolitans.

SECT. I.

SOME time after St. Malachy was firmly seated on the see of Armagh, he made a visitation of Munster. (1) A pestilence having broken out, the clergy and people of Armagh went in procession, with the usual commemoration and reliques of saints; but on his joining them in prayer it immediately ceased. (2) In 1136 died a distinguished man, Moeliosa Moelcolumb, a very exact calculator of times for the use of the church of Armagh, its librarian, and an eminent antiquary. (3) St. Malachy, having in the course of three years settled ecclesiastical matters in the diocese, restored liberty to its church, reformed abuses, &c. now resolved on resigning the see, according to his previous determination and agreement, and on returning to the scene of his former labours. Yet he did not take to himself the see of Connor, where he had already placed a bishop, but fixed upon Down, which was united to Connor before and when he was bishop there. But, as they

had been distinct sees, he now thought it advisable to separate them again, and leaving that of Connor, strictly so called, to the bishop in possession, undertook himself the care of Down, which was considered inferior to the other. (4) This could not have been earlier than some time in the year 1137, whereas St. Malachy continued to govern Armagh for about three years after his full accession in 1134. Before he retired to Down, he appointed as his successor in Armagh, Gelasius with the consent of the clergy and people. (5) This distinguished prelate was a native of the North of Ireland, and son of Roderic, a man distinguished for his learning, and an excellent poet. His birth is assigned to *A. D.* 1088, and he is usually called in Irish *Gilla Mac-Lieg*. (6) In his youth he embraced the monastic state in the abbey of Derry, (7) of which he became abbot, and consequently comorban or successor of Columbkil, in about 1121, which situation he held for sixteen years. (8) I find him called also archdeacon of Derry, (9) whence it seems that Derry was then considered an episcopal see. While he was abbot of this monastery, it was attacked in 1124 by a prince Ardgarr at Ailech near Derry, who, on the towns-people interfering, was killed by one of them. (10) In the same year 1137, in which Gelasius was placed at Armagh, died Domnald O'Conaing, archbishop of Cashel, who is most highly praised for his wisdom, devotion, spirit of prayer, and liberality to the poor and for pious purposes. (11) He was succeeded by Domnald O'Lonargan, who held the see until 1158. (12)

(1) The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 304.*) have two visitations of Munster by St. Malachy, one in 1134 (wrongly printed 1124) the very year of his getting full possession, and another in 1136. I strongly suspect, that they were mistaken as to any

such visitation in 1134. St. Malachy had enough to do in that year, particularly considering his not being well seated until the late part of it, at Armagh, not to have time to go so soon to Munster, and I am inclined to think, that there was only one visitation, viz. that of 1136.

(2) St. Bernard, *cap.* 8. (3) *Tr. Th.* p. 304.

(4) St. Bernard, *cap.* 9. Ledwich (*Antiq.* p. 438.) tells a monstrous lie, saying that St. Malachy, after his three years incumbency was *driven from Armagh by the old family.*

(5) Colgan has (*AA. SS.* at 27th March) a Life of this eminent prelate, which he collected from various sources. He vainly strives to show by means of some round-about calculations, that Gelasius was raised to the see of Armagh in 1136. It would be a waste of time to inquire into his modes of reckoning, and it is sufficient to observe that, as it is certain that St. Malachy did not get full possession of this see until the latter part of 1134, (see *Chap.* xxvi. §. 14.) as Colgan himself admits, (*Tr. Th.* p. 304.) Gelasius could not be a bishop of it before some time in 1137, (the year marked in the Annals of Mary's Abbey) whereas it is likewise certain, that St. Malachy held it for about three years after said part of 1134. What is here observed serves also to set aside a story, which Colgan has (*Tr. Th. ib.*) and which he repeats in the Life of Gelasius, (*cap.* 8.) viz. that Niell, or Niggellus, again seized upon the see in 1136, on the occasion of St. Malachy's retiring from it. But St. Malachy was still at Armagh himself in 1136. Nor does St. Bernard, who mentions the appointment of Gelasius, say a word about this second usurpation of Niggellus, but, on the contrary, states (*cap.* 8.) that, after he was forced to submit to St. Malachy, he was obliged also to remain quiet for the remainder of his life, *quiescere de reliquo in omni subjectione.* Had he made any second attempt, St. Bernard would not have spared him. Ware and Harris (*Bishops at Gelasius*) have the same story, having copied it from Colgan.

(6) *Mac-Lieg*, or, as he spells it, *Mac-Leigh*, is translated by Harris (*ib.*) son of the scholar. Others call him *Mac-Liagh*. *Leighin* signifies in Irish a scholar, as *Liagh* does a physician. Colgan observes, (*Not. 2. Life of Gelasius*) that he has been called, by antonomasia, the son of the poet. Dr. O'Connor quotes (*Rer. Hib. Scriptor. 2. Proleg.* p. 144.) a passage from Maolbrigte (see *Not.* 94 to *Chap.* xxi.) in which he is called *Mac*

Liag mac mic Ruadri, as if grandson of Roderic, and *Mac-Liag* seems to be explained *son of the man of poems*.

(7) Ware (*ib.*) makes him an Augustin Canon, according to his supposition that the abbey of Derry belonged to that order. But that abbey existed for centuries before there were Augustin Canons in the world, and was of the order of Columb kill. He tells us elsewhere, that many of the old Irish monasteries adopted in later times the rule of the Canons of St. Augustin; but he would not have been able to prove, that it was received at Derry in the times of Gelasius. There was indeed a certain affinity between the rule of these new Canons, who did not appear until the eleventh century, and the old general system of the Irish monks, which was bottomed on the monastic regulations introduced by St. Patrick from Tours and Lerins; yet they were not originally the same, and the ancient Irish rules were much stricter than that of the Augustin Canons. Harris (*ib.*) says; "It is certain the abbey of Derry owed its filiation to the house of St. Peter and St. Paul of Armagh, which past question was of the Augustin congregation." The first part of this assertion is quite unfounded. How could the abbey of Derry, which was founded by Columb-kill in the sixth century, owe its filiation to a house, that did not exist till the twelfth? There is no authentic account of the house or monastery of St. Peter and Paul at Armagh, until its church was erected by Imar O'Haedhagain, and consecrated by Celsus in 1126. (See *Chap. xxvi. §. 8.*) And Ware (*Antiq. cap. 26.*) and Harris (*Monasteries*) were wrong in supposing, that it had been founded by St. Patrick. Archdall has terribly bungled and confused this matter, (at *Armagh*) placing a long string of abbots, and even archbishops, &c. ever since the days of St. Patrick in the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, thus confounding it with the ancient religious house, which from the very beginning was annexed to the cathedral. He makes Imar abbot of it in 1100, that is several years before the church was built and consecrated, although it is certain from St. Bernard's account of him, that he was not one at that time. He might have acted as such afterwards, in consequence of having received several disciples besides St. Malachy, and thus have given rise to the community of Augustin Canons, which occupied the house of St. Peter and St. Paul. It

has been pretended, that the abbey of Derry was a Benedictine house in the times of Gelasius, and therefore that he belonged to that order. This is a silly pretension of some Benedictine writers, who strove to persuade the world, that many of our old Irish monasteries were of their institution. The attachment of the Columbians, such as the monks of Derry were to Columbkill, was too strong to allow us to suppose, that they would easily have changed their rule for that of the Benedictines.

(8) The 4 Masters (*ap.* Colgan in his *Life* *cap.* 30.) have 16 years for his administration as successor of St. Columba. Hence Colgan concluded, that he was appointed abbot of Derry in 1120, on the supposition that he was removed to Armagh in 1136. But, as he was not removed until 1137, his appointment at Derry was not prior to 1121.

(9) 4 Masters at *A.* 1137, quoted by Colgan, *AA. SS.* *p.* 779.

(10) Life of Gelasius, *cap.* 5.

(11) 4 Masters, *ap.* *Tr. Th.* *p.* 308.

(12) See Ware and Harris at *Archbishops of Cashel*. The Annals of Innisfallen (at *A.* 1158) call him Donall O'Lonargan, and state that he was a Dalcassian.

§. II. St. Malachy, being now bishop of Down, began his new career with uniting some of his disciples into a congregation of Regular Clerks, apparently of the order called Canons Regular of St. Augustin. (13) He now exerted himself with fresh vigour, acting as a zealous bishop, enforcing monastic discipline, making ecclesiastical regulations, &c. Not long after his being stationed at Down he lost his brother Christian (Gilla-Criost) bishop of Clogher, who died in 1138, and was buried in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Armagh. His memory was revered on the 12th of June, the anniversary of his death. (14) In fact he was a very holy prelate, who, although not so celebrated as St. Malachy, was perhaps not unequal to him in sanctity of life and zeal for justice. (15) In what year he had been appointed bishop of Clogher I am not able

to ascertain. (16) Moelpatrick O'Drugan, who had been chief professor of Armagh since 1107, (17) died in the said year 1138, on the 2d of January, in the island Inis-locha-cre, *alias* the *Island of the living*, whither he had gone some time before on a pilgrimage. (18) He is praised as a man highly distinguished for sanctity and great knowledge of the Holy scriptures. (19) In the same year Cormac Mac-Carthy, the friend of St. Malachy, was murdered by his own son in law, Dermod Sugach O'Connor Kerry, at the instigation of Turlogh O'Brian. (20) He was a prince remarkable for his piety and liberality, as indeed appears from various instances already mentioned. (21) That was also the year, in which Gelasius made his first visitation of various parts of Ireland, particularly Munster, where he was received with great honour. (22) Maelbrigid O'Brolchan, a very wise and pious man, suffragan bishop of Armagh, died on the 29th of January, *A. D.* 1139. (23) He had belonged to the monastery of Derry, and it is probable, that Gelasius invited him thence to assist him in the government of his diocese. To the same year is assigned the death of the unfortunate Niell, or Nigellus, who seems to have been one of the last of the usurping family, which soon became extinct, and who is represented as having died a great penitent. (24)

(13) St. Bernard (*cap.* 13.) calls the community, formed by St. Malachy, simply *conventum regularium clericorum*. It is highly probable, that he gave them the rule of the Canons regular of St. Augustin, who by this time were spread far and wide throughout various parts of Europe. But this is the first occasion that I meet with of their being mentioned, or seemingly mentioned, as being in Ireland. Yet there might have been some of them a few years earlier at St. Peter and St. Paul's at Armagh, (compare with *Not.* 7.) and Ware says, (see *Not.* 73 to *Chap.* xxvi.) that the abbey of St. Barr near Cork, founded about 1134, belonged to that order. But I much doubt, whether he found the members of this abbey

called Augustin canons in any old document of those times. He was too much in the habit of giving the name of *Augustin Canons*, or Canons regular of St. Augustin, to our ancient monks. Thus he makes even Bangor from its very foundation in the sixth century an abbey of Augustin Canons. Hence it appears, that he was unacquainted with the true history and origin of these Canons, concerning which see *Notes* 133 and 134 to *Chap. iv.* I may here observe, by the bye, that Ware is wrong in assigning the original foundation of the monastery of St. Barr to about 1134. For it had existed since the seventh century, and whatever took place with regard to it in the twelfth consisted merely in its having been re-established or re-founded, as Archdall (at *Cork*) justly states, and perhaps in some alteration of its rules.

(14) See *Tr. Th. p.* 482. and *AA. SS. p.* 742. Ware thought, (*Bishops of Clogher*) that the year 1138, marked for his death, might have been in reality 1139. But at the times we are now treating of there is no necessity for adding a year to those of the Irish annals.

(15) St. Bernard, *cap.* 10. A great encomium is paid to him also by the 4 Masters, at *A.* 1138.

(16) Harris (*Bishops of Clogher*) assigns his promotion to *A.* 1126. I do not know what reason he had for this date except that in a list of distinguished persons of the church of Clogher (*ap. AA. SS. p.* 742.) one Muredach O'Cuillen, who was killed in 1126, is placed next before him. But this O'Cuillen is called only archdeacon of Clogher. Ware has (*ib.*) a Mac-Mael-Josa O'Culleán as bishop of Clogher and the immediate predecessor of Christian, but does not tell us in what year he died.

(17) See *Chap. xxvi. §. 2.*

(18) *Tr. Th. p.* 304 and *Ind. Chron.* The year of his death was the second of the incumbency of Gelasius, which confirms its having been A. D. 1138. Yet Colgan, persisting in his hypothesis of Gelasius having been raised to Armagh in 1136, has changed (*Life of Gelasius, cap.* 9.) 1138 into 1137, notwithstanding his assigning O'Drúgan's death to 1138 in *Tr. Th. locc. cit.* Inislocha-cre is called also by other names, such as *Monaincha*, and is an island in the great bog of Moncla, county of Tipperary, about three miles from Roscrea, and we shall have occasion to treat of it hereafter.

(19) *Tr. Th. and Life of Gelasius, locc. cit.*

(20) Annals of Innisfallen at A. 1138.

(21) Dr. O'Connor (*Rer. Hib. Scriptor. 2 Proleg. p. 141.*) calls Cormac M'Carthy not only king but bishop of Munster. He quotes Maelbrigte, (of whom see *Not. 94 to Chap. xxi.*) who styles him *rig escop Muman*. But if *escop* mean *bishop*, as Dr. O'Connor thinks, it cannot in this passage be taken in a strict literal sense. *Escop* is not in several Irish dictionaries, *ex. c.* those of Lhuyd and O'Reilly, who have no other word for *bishop* than *easbog* or *casbug*. O'Brien, however, has, besides *easbog*, also *eascop*. Yet, admitting that *rig escop* signifies *king bishop*, either Maelbrigte was mistaken, or, what is more probable, he gave Cormac the title of bishop in an honorary manner on account of his piety and attention to ecclesiastical matters, similar to that, in which Constantine the great was styled *bishop*. Or, perhaps, *escop* indicates an allusion to his having taken a pilgrim's staff at Lismore. (See *Not. 57 to Chap. xxvi.*) That Cormac Mac-Carthy was not a real bishop is evident from the Annals of Innisfallen, which often make mention of him, as a king, a warrior, &c. Had he been also a bishop, it is impossible but that we would find him so called somewhere in said annals. Or would not St. Bernard, who speaks so highly of him, have told us that he was not only a king but a bishop? Keating relates (*History, &c. B. 2. p. 103. Dublin ed.*) his murder; and Lynch (*Cambr. evers. cap. 21.*) treats of him rather minutely; but neither of them has a word about his having been a bishop.

(22) Life of Gelasius, *c p. 10*. This is mentioned also in *Tr. Th. p. 305*. where, through a typographical error, 1139 appears instead of 1138, which, as O'Flaherty observes, (*MS. not. ib.*) is the year marked by the 4 Masters.

(23) *Ib. cap. 11*, and *Tr. Th. p. 305*.

(24) *Ib.* St. Bernard states, (*Vit. S. Mal. cap. 8.*) that the whole of that generation was swept away within a short time after their attempts against St. Malachy.

§. III. Crowds of people of various ranks flocked to St. Malachy at Down, and placed themselves under his direction. Having established several ecclesiastical regulations, he thought it not safe to act

upon them without the authority of the Apostolic see, and was particularly anxious to procure for the see of Armagh the pallium, with which it had not at any time been as yet honoured. (25) He thought that, as it had become very usual in those times to distinguish metropolitan sees by the use of it, Armagh ought to enjoy the same privilege, as an ancient church, and not inferior in respectability to most of the other metropolitan ones. He wished also to obtain another for the see of Cashel and to get confirmed by the Pope the act of Celsus, who had raised it to the metropolitical rank. (26) Consequently he determined on going to Rome, but was strenuously opposed by the brethren and the chiefs and people of the country, who could not bear the idea of his absence, particularly as his brother Christian of Clogher had died a short time before; and they dreaded some great desolation, if after having lost one pillar of the Church the country should be deprived of the assistance of the other. At length, however, he succeeded in their letting him depart; but, before he set out, he provided for the see of Clogher by appointing to it and consecrating Edan or Aedan, one of his disciples, whom he considered the fittest person for that situation. Edan is surnamed *O'Kelly* or *O'Killedy*, and held that see for many years. (27) St. Malachy took his route by the way of England, after having landed in Scotland. When arrived at York, he was recognized by a holy priest, named Sycar, who had never seen him before, but to whom it had been revealed that he was to pass that way. Wallely, or Wallen, a nobleman, and then prior of a community of Regular brethren, waited upon St. Malachy at York, and observing that he had a large suite, among whom were five priests, and only three horses, offered him the one he rode himself, which the saint accepted of. Continuing his journey, and traveling through France, he stopped for a while at

Clairvaux, where he became acquainted with St. Bernard, who was most highly delighted by his society. St. Malachy was much pleased with this establishment, and the brethren were greatly edified by his presence and conversation. Taking his leave of St. Bernard and the brethren with the warmest feelings of attachment, he pursued his course towards Italy, and having crossed the Alps wrought a miracle at Ivrea by curing a child of his host, that was at the point of death. (28)

(25) St. Bernard, *ib. cap.* 10. Joceline among other fables of his concerning St. Patrick pretends, that he received the pallium at Rome. This nonsense has been sufficiently refuted already, *Chap.* VII. §. 1. and *ib. Not.* 2. Colgan, however, swallowed it, and has endeavoured in a really unlearned manner to support it, *Tr. Th. p.* 306. *seqq.* But I was surprised to find that M'Mahon, who lived in times when the origin and nature of the pallium, as granted to archbishops or bishops, were so universally known, could have undertaken to defend this silly paradox in various parts of his *Jus primatiale Armacanum*, particularly §. 219. *seqq.* Surely he ought to have been aware, that in St. Patrick's days the pallium, of which we are now treating, was not used in the Western church even by the Popes themselves; and it is a very lame evasion to say, that, although it ceased to be sent to the archbishops of Armagh during the Danish troubles, yet they had received it in the first times of that church. Now St. Bernard writes; "*Metropoliticae sedi deerat adhuc et defuerat ab initio pallii usus.*" Here M'Mahon comes forward with a wretched quibble, distinguishing *ab initio* from *in initio*, as if St. Patrick's times were to be exempted from the general and plain assertion of St. Bernard. By why thus exempt them, whereas the pallium was not introduced into the Western church until many years after St. Patrick's death? But, if M'Mahon argued badly on this point, Peter Talbot of Dublin, against whom he wrote, was no less or rather more to blame for striving in his *Primatus Dubliniensis* to conclude from the want of the pallium, that therefore Armagh was not the primatial see of Ireland. Did he not know, that various gradations of ecclesiastical authority existed before the pallium was used,

and that there have been hundreds of metropolitans, who never wore it? St. Ambrose of Milan, who received no pallium, enjoyed as much jurisdiction as if he had been decorated with twenty of them. Nothing is clearer from the whole tenor of our ecclesiastical history than that the see of Armagh was the only truly metropolitan one until Cashel was added to it, yet as subordinate. (See *Chap.* xxv. §. 13.) St. Bernard is quite explicit on this subject, where mentioning an injunction of Celsus he says; (*Vit. S. Mal. cap.* 7.) “*Sancti Patricii auctoritate præcepit, cujus reverentia et honore tamquam apostoli illius gentis, qui totam patriam convertisset ad fidem, sedes illa, in qua et vivens præfuit et mortuus requiescit, in tanta ab initio cunctis veneratione habetur, ut non modo episcopi et sacerdotes, et qui de clero sunt, sed etiam regum ac principum universitas subjecta sit metropolitana in omni obedientia (ecclesiastica), et unus ipse omnibus præsit.*” Poor Ledwich took upon himself to meddle with this question (*Antiq.* p. 391.) where amidst lies and inconsistencies he quotes against the primacy of Armagh a passage of William Neubrigensis, who says, that “the prime see of Ireland is said to be at Armagh in honour of St. Patrick, &c. Is not this a proof of its having been so? But, he argues, the words, *is said*, show that William knew nothing of Armagh but from report. Be it so; for he was an Englishman. Does it follow, that the report was false? What think of a scribbler, who pretends, that St. Patrick was not heard of at Armagh until the 9th century, when introduced by the Danes?

(26) St. Bernard, *ib.* That the new metropolis alluded to by him was Cashel, has been proved, *Not.* 84 to *Chap.* xxv.

(27) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Clogher.*

(28) St. Bernard *ib.*

§. iv. St. Malachy, being arrived in Rome, waited on the then Pope Innocent II. by whom he was most kindly received. The first favour he asked of him was permission to retire to Clairvaux, and to spend there the remainder of his life; but this the Pope refused to agree to. During the time of his stay at Rome, which was one month, he visited the holy places, frequenting them for the sake of prayer.

Meanwhile the Pope made many enquiries from him and his companions concerning the manners and customs of the Irish, the state of their churches, and how St. Malachy had exerted himself. He then appointed him Legate apostolic for all Ireland ; for Gillebert, the former one, had communicated to the Pope, that on account of his great age and feebleness he was no longer able to attend to the duties of that office. St. Malachy then applied for the confirmation of the new metropolitan see, (Cashel) which the Pope immediately granted ; but on his applying also for the palliums, the Pope replied ; “ This is a matter, which must be transacted with with greater solemnity. Do you, summoning the bishops and clergy and the chiefs of your country, celebrate a general council, and, after ye will have all agreed on this point, apply for the pallium by means of respectable persons, and it shall be given to you.” (29) Then taking the mitre off his head he placed it on that of St. Malachy, and gave him the stole and maniple, which he used to wear when officiating ; and saluting him in the kiss of peace dismissed him with his benediction. Were we to believe the Registry of Clogher, St. Malachy obtained from this Pope, that the fourth part of the ecclesiastical property or dues throughout all Ergall or Oriel should be assigned to the bishops of Clogher, which was situated in that territory. I doubt very much, whether the saint, who, as will be seen, had no fixed income for himself, asked for any such favour. (30) On his return to Ireland he called again at Clairvaux, and regretting that he was not allowed to remain there, left four of his companions in the monastery for the purpose of learning its rules and regulations, and of their being in due time qualified to introduce them into Ireland. He said on this occasion ; “ They will serve us for seed, and in this seed nations will be blessed, even those nations, which from old times have heard of the

name of monk, but have not seen a monk." (31) Proceeding on his journey he arrived safely in Scotland, where he was honourably received by the king, David, and requested by him to cure his son Henry, who was dangerously ill. The saint blessed some water, and sprinkled Henry with it, saying to him; Child, take courage, thou wilt not die this time; and on the next day he recovered his health. Hence both David and Henry became greatly attached to St. Malachy, and continued so as long as he lived. Anxious to arrive soon in Ireland he declined their invitation to remain with them for some days, and on his way to the place of embarkation cured a dumb girl and an insane woman. Being delayed at that place, which was called *Lapasperi*, for some days, waiting for a passage, he constructed an oratory there, which he surrounded with a trench, and blessed the intermediate space, that it might serve as a cemetery. This spot was afterwards much resorted to, as a place of prayer, and where favours might be obtained from the Almighty. (32)

(29) St. Bernard, *cap.* 11. The Pope's object was to show, that the granting of palliums should be considered as a great favour, and that the obtaining of them required more than the request of any individual bishop. The rule, requiring that every archbishop should be invested with the pallium, was not as yet established. In what passed between the Pope and St. Malachy on this occasion there is not the most distant allusion to the strange story of the saint's reason for wishing to get palls for Ireland having been to get rid of the claims of Canterbury. (Compare with *Not.* 85. to *Chap.* xxiv.) It is laughable to hear Ledwich (*p.* 438.) resting the Pope's refusal to grant the pallium on his apprehension that the wearer would be insulted by the Irish clergy. So ignorant was he of the history of the transaction, that (*ib.*) he represents St. Malachy as archbishop of Armagh, when he applied for the palls, although he had left Armagh two or three years before that time, and was then only bishop of Down.

(30) This statement may be seen in Ware and Harris's (*Bishops of Clogher at Christian*). If true, it is odd, that St. Bernard has not a word about it, notwithstanding his making mention both of Christian and Edan. I suspect it is on a par with the pretty list of bishops of Clogher, which we find in said Registry. (See *Not. 5. to Chap. xii.*)

(31) St. Bernard, *ib.* It is difficult to determine, whether by the nations, who *had not seen a monk*, St. Malachy meant nations different from the Irish, among whom the order of Clairvaux would be propagated, or alluded to some parts of Ireland, in which there had not been monks before for a long time, but in which communities of that order would be placed. Be this as it may, neither he nor St. Bernard could have meant all Ireland; for they well knew, that there had been and was still abundance of monasteries in Ireland, and St. Bernard himself makes mention of many of them, particularly in older times. Ledwich (*p.* 439) misquoting St. Bernard's words carps at him as if he alluded to all Ireland, and adds in confirmation the following words from a letter of his, written some time after to St. Malachy (*No. 44. in Usher's Sylloge, and 357 in Mabillon's ed. Tom. 1.*) "*et in terra jam (tam, Mabillon) insueta, immo et inexperta monasticæ religionis.*" But St. Bernard is not speaking there of all Ireland, but of a particular spot, (Mellifont) where a monastery was formed by Cistercians sent over by him, and where there had not been already any monks; and therefore he says, that great vigilance is requisite there, *tanquam in loco novo, et in terra, &c.* Ledwich omitted the words, *loco novo*, lest the reader might understand in what sense St. Bernard used *terra*, by which he meant not Ireland at large but some particular district.

(32) St. Bernard, *ib.*

§. v. At length after a prosperous passage he arrived at his monastery of Bangor. With what joy he was welcomed there and by the people, who flocked from various parts to see him, it would be superfluous to relate. This was in the year 1140.

(33) By this time Gillebert of Limerick either was dead, or had resigned his see; for we find in that year a new bishop of Limerick, Patrick, who, owing to the influence of the Danes, was consecrated by

Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he made the following profession ; “ I Patrick, chosen
“ to the government of the church of Limerick,
“ and to be consecrated bishop, through the grace
“ of God, by thee, Reverend father Theobald,
“ archbishop of the holy church of Canterbury, and
“ primate of all Britain, do promise, that I will pay
“ due subjection and canonical obedience in every
“ respect to thee and to all thy successors, who shall
“ succeed thee canonically.” Concerning him I find nothing further, except that he is said to have held the see for only a short time, and to have been succeeded by one Harold a Dane. (34) In the same year 1140 Gelasius of Armagh made a visitation throughout Connaught, and was treated with great respect by the king, Turlogh O’Conor, and the nobles of the country, who allowed him full liberty to arrange and regulate ecclesiastical matters as he thought proper. (35) St. Malachy now set about performing the duties of his legateship ; held, or procured to be held, synods in various places ; re-established good old practices, and introduced new ones ; while every one submitted to his regulations as if they were dictated by heaven. He went all over Ireland, travelling on foot with his companions, and exercising his ministry, preaching &c. Whenever it was necessary to rest, he used to stop in monasteries, adapting himself to their practices and observances, and content with the usual fare of the respective communities. He had no house of his own, no servants, no fixed mensal income. (36) Some time after his return to Ireland he sent some persons to Clairvaux, besides the four whom he had left there, that they also might be instructed in the system of that establishment. (37) On this occasion he wrote to St. Bernard, requesting that he would allow two of those four brethren to return to Ireland, that they might provide a place for a monastery ; but St. Bernard answered, that he

thought it adviseable not to separate them so soon, and to allow them time to be better prepared ; and that in the mean while St. Malachy himself might look out for and prepare a proper place for that purpose. When, he adds, they shall be duly qualified, they shall return to their father and sing the canticles of the Lord in their own country. (38)

(33) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1140.

(34) See Ware and Harris, *Bishops of Limerick*. The original of Patrick's profession is in Usher's *Sylloge*, and is the only one of any bishop of that see. It is also the last of the professions of any Irish bishops made to archbishops of Canterbury.

(35) Life of Gelassius, *cap.* 12.

(36) St. Bernard, *Vit. S. Mal.* *cap.* 12. following the order of Messingham's edition. What is here said of St. Malachy not having had any fixed mensal income, or, as St. Bernard expresses it, that nothing was assigned for the episcopal *mensa*, on which the bishop might live, cannot mean, that there was no property really belonging to the see of Down, but that St. Malachy, who delighted in poverty, did not choose to exact the mensal portion from the erenachs or corbes, who had got the church lands into their possession and management. (See *Not.* 63. to *Chap.* xxvi.) In like manner he refused (*ib.* §. 9.) to accept of the lands, that had belonged to the monastery of Bangor, and allowed them to be enjoyed by a corbe. Even while archbishop of Armagh he possessed no property peculiar to himself; for St. Bernard states, (*ib.*) that from the first day of his conversion until his death he lived without any thing of his own, *sine proprio vixit*. Now it is certain, that there was property, and that considerable, annexed to the see of Armagh; otherwise how could the usurping family have been so eager to keep hold of it, or why should Maurice, and then Niell or Nigellus, have seized upon it after the death of Celsus? But whatever share was due to the bishop personally, St. Malachy gave it up; yet it cannot be supposed, that the rents or dues necessary for the expenses of the cathedral, the support of the officiating clergy, the repairs of churches, &c. were not exacted. All that St. Malachy could or would do was to resign his own peculiar por-

tion, which he probably ordered to be assigned to the stock intended for the poor.

(37) St. Bernard, *ib. Cap. 11.*

(38) St. Bernard's letter in reply to St. Malachy is No. 42. in Usher's *Sylloge*, and 341. in Mabillon's edition of St. Bernard's works, *Vol. 1.* Usher assigns it to *A. D.* 1140; but I think it must have been somewhat later; for it can hardly be allowed, that St. Malachy, who did not return to Ireland until that year, after having but lately left the four brethren at Clairvaux, could have so soon wished for the return of two of them. But Usher supposed that St. Malachy had been at Clairvaux in 1137, a date in which it is evident that he was mistaken. Very probably it was written in 1141.

§. vi. Some other letters passed between these holy men on this subject, and St. Bernard, anxious to gratify his friend's wish, as soon as convenient, sent over the Irish brethren under Christian one of themselves as their superior, who was brother to Malchus a former disciple of St. Malachy at Bangor.

(39) He sent along with them also some of the monks of Clairvaux, so as to make up a sufficient number of members for constituting a monastery.

(40) It was then that the Cistercian house of Mellifont in the now county of Louth, the first of that order in Ireland, was founded in 1142, and endowed by Donogh or Donatus O'Carrol, king of Ergall or Oriel.

(41) Some of the French brethren returned soon after to Clairvaux, although St. Bernard would have been better pleased if they had remained. He mentions with much satisfaction one of them, named Robert, who staid at Mellifont.

(42) In the same year 1142 died a worthy and very learned priest, Cathasach O'Kirchaorach, who had been professor of theology at Armagh.

(43) In said year Conor O'Brian, who had been very powerful during part of his reign, died at Killaloe, whither he had retired to spend his last days in pilgrimage, and was succeeded, as king of Munster,

by his brother Turlogh. (44) A great quarrel existed in these times between Turlogh O'Conor, king of Connaught, and Murrogh O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, to put an end to which Gelasius of Armagh and some other prelates were fixed upon as arbitrators. They succeeded in concluding a treaty, in the year 1143, between those princes before the altar of St. Kieran (at Clonmacnois) and many reliques of saints. But some time after, notwithstanding this agreement, O'Conor made an irruption into Meath, and took O'Melaghlin, as if he were guilty of a violation of the treaty, whom he placed as a prisoner in the castle of Dunmore. On this news Gelasius hastened to Connaught, and uniting with Muredach O'Dubhthaich, the worthy bishop of Tuam, the abbot of Fore, and several other distinguished persons, both ecclesiastics and laymen, induced O'Conor to allow the matter to be inquired into, as it was not right that O'Melaghlin should be punished in that manner, unless he were really guilty. Nothing was proved against him ; but still O'Conor refused to enlarge him, except on condition of his giving up his principality of Meath for a while to Conor O'Conor a son of Turlogh. This condition, however disagreeable to the prelates, was accepted by O'Melaghlin ; but Conor did not long enjoy his usurped power ; for within little more than half a year he was killed by O'Dubhlach, chieftain of Fera-Tulach (now the barony of Fertullagh in Westmeath), who could not bear to be subjected to any prince different from his lawful one. (45) A great synod, consisting chiefly of the clergy of Connaught, is stated to have been held in 1143, over which Muredach O'Dubhthaich of Tuam presided. It is said that twelve bishops and five hundred priests were present at it, and that its principal object was to procure the liberation of Roderic O'Conor, son of Turlogh, who happened to be then a captive. (46) Another synod is men-

tioned as having sat in 1144, in which were present the archbishop of Armagh (Gelasius), O'Lonergan (either the archbishop of Cashel or the bishop of Killaloe), the bishop of Roscommon, the king Turlogh O'Connor, &c. and in consequence of which Roderic O'Connor and others recovered their liberty. (47) This was in all probability no other than the assembly, in which, as we have just seen, Gelasius and others stipulated for the enlargement of O'Melaghlin. At this year 1144, I find marked the death of a bishop of Leighlin, Shuagad O'Catan, (48) and that of Gilla-Patrik Mac-Comgall, a very learned priest, scholastic of Clonard. (49)

(39) See *Chap. xxvi. §. 9.*

(40) St. Bernard, *Vit. S. Mal. cap. 11.* See also his letters to St. Malachy, No. 43, 44, in the *Sylloge*, and 356, 357 in Maillon's *ed.*

(41) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 26.* at *County Louth.* The Annals (the same as those of Mary's Abbey) quoted by Usher (*Not. to Ep. 43. Sylloge*) have the same date and circumstances. Hence it appears, that those were mistaken, who calculated, that Mellifont was founded in 1141, for instance Fleury, *Hist. L. 68. §. 59.* This mistake proceeded from another, viz. that St. Malachy had returned to Ireland in 1139. But they were not mistaken in stating, (see Fleury's *Index*) that the abbey of Mellifont was the first Cistercian one in Ireland, as is quite clear from St. Malachy's speaking of the brethren, whom he left at Clairvaux, as the persons who would introduce that order into Ireland, and from St. Bernard's representing (*Vit. S. Mal. cap. 11.*) the community under Christian, that is, the abbey of Mellifont, as the parent of the other Cistercian houses in this country. Therefore what Ware has, (*ib. at Dublin*) and which he took from the Annals of Mary's Abbey, viz. that this abbey adopted the Cistercian rule in 1139, in imitation of the abbot of Savonac or Savigni in France, cannot be true; whereas there were no Cistercians in Ireland until three years after that date. Besides, the abbey of Savigni was not Cistercian itself until 1148. (Fleury, *ib. L. 69. §. 35.*) Ledwich,

who knew not how to be correct, says, (*Antiq. p.* 438.) that St. Malachy introduced the Cistercian order into this kingdom in 1140, and *settled* it at Mellifont, Newry, Bective, Boyle, Balinglas, Nenagh, and Cashel. Now this order was not at Mellifont until 1142, which he might have known from Usher, Ware, Harris, Archdall, &c. There was no Cistercian abbey at or near Cashel until about A. D. 1270, above 120 years after St. Malachy's death. Nenagh, the well known town in the county of Tipperary, never had a Cisterian establishment; but Ledwich confounded it with Nenay, a place in the county of Limerick, where there was one, the time of whose foundation some place after the death of the saint, which, as will be seen was founded that of Newry, notwithstanding Usher's having thought (*Not. to Ep.* 43.) that it was established about 1141, which he took from a mistake of Ware in his *Coenol. Cisterciensia*. When St. Bernard was writing the Life of St. Malachy, there were only five Cistercian houses in Ireland besides Mellifont; (see *ib. cap.* 11.) yet Ledwich reckons up six before St. Malachy's death. What an antiquary!

(42) See *Ep.* 44. *al.* 357. (43) *Tr. Th.* p. 305.

(44) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1142.

(45) Life of Gelasius, *cap.* 13. and *Tr. Th.* p. 305. In the former place Colgan marks these transactions at *A.* 1143, and in the latter at 1144. This can be easily reconciled by supposing, that the assembly, in which the treaty was entered into by Turlogh O'Connor and O'Melaghlin was held in 1143, and the other, in consequence of which O'Melaghlin recovered his liberty, in 1144.

(46) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1143. This synod must have been different from the assembly, in which Gelasius of Armagh appeared in 1143 as one of the arbitrators between Turlogh O'Connor and O'Melaghlin; for the Annals make no mention of Gelasius, and represent it as presided by O'Dubhthaich, which could hardly have been the case, were Gelasius present. I do not well understand what said Annals have about Roderic O'Connor's captivity; but Harris (*Bishops at Tuam, Muredach O'Dubhai*) says, from certain anonymous Annals, that he had been taken prisoner by Tiernan O'Roirk.

(47) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1144.

(48) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Leighlin*. Harris has (at *Meath*) one Eochad O'Kelly, who, according to certain anonymous annals, is called *archbishop of the men of Meath*, and died in 1140. And (at *Kildare*) he introduces Cormac O'Cathsuig, who is styled *bishop of Leinster*, and whose death is assigned to 1146. From the title, *bishop of Leinster*, it does not follow, that he was bishop of Kildare; for it may mean merely that he was a Leinster bishop, that is, a bishop somewhere in that province. In fact, Colgan makes no mention of him in his catalogue of bishops, &c. of Kildare, *Tr. Th.* p. 630. Of these two bishops I can find nothing further than what Harris says of them.

(49) *AA. SS.* p. 407.

§. VII. Gelasius, having laboured for the restoration of peace and tranquillity, now set about repairing the cathedral of Armagh and the adjoining sacred edifices. (50) Meanwhile St. Malachy was busily employed in various parts of Ireland, exercising the functions of his legatine authority; and it is related, that during his excursions he wrought several miracles. At Coleraine, Lismore, and other places, he delivered persons possessed with evil spirits; he cured paralytics, one instance of which occurred at Cashel, and relieved many persons afflicted with divers infirmities. At Cloyne being requested by a nobleman, whose lady was pregnant and having passed the usual time of labour, was supposed to be in danger of her life, and by the bishop Nehemias (O'Moriertach) to do something for her, he blessed a drink, which he ordered to be given to her, and in consequence of which she was soon after safely delivered. Happening to be in an island somewhere off the the Irish coast, near which the sea, from having once abounded in fish, was then very deficient in that respect, St. Malachy was supplicated by the inhabitants to obtain from the Almighty a larger supply. Having told them that he came among them to catch not fish but men, he, however, moved by their faith, prayed to God in favour of them,

who was pleased to restore to that part of the sea an abundance of fish, greater perhaps than what it formerly had. On a certain occasion St. Malachy, with three other bishops, came to Fochart, the place where St. Brigid was born. (51) The priest, in whose house they stopped, said to him ; “ what shall I do, for I have no fish ? ” The saint desired him to apply to the fishermen, to which he answered, that for two years back the river had been destitute of fish. Yet, replied St. Malachy, let them cast their nets in the name of the Lord. They did so, and at the first throw took twelve salmons, and at the second as many more. A very remarkable case is narrated in nearly the following words. The wife of a nobleman, who lived near the monastery of Bangor, being sick past hopes of recovery, St. Malachy was asked to administer to her the sacrament of Extreme unction. He went to the house ; but, as he was preparing to anoint her, his assistants thought that, as it was then evening, it would be better to wait until the next morning. (52) He followed their advice, and giving her his blessing retired. But scarcely had he left the house, (53) when he heard shouts and cries announcing, that she was dead. He immediately ran back, followed by his companions, and, when at the bed-side he ascertained that she had expired, became sorely troubled in mind, imputing to himself that she had not received the grace of the sacrament. Lifting his hands towards heaven he said ; “ O Lord, I have acted foolishly, I have sinned, who deferred administering, not she, who wished for it.” He then declared, that he could not enjoy any comfort or peace of mind, unless that grace might be granted to her. Ordering his companions to watch and pray, as they did singing psalms, &c. he remained the whole night near the bed, praying and pouring out floods of tears. When morning came, she opened her eyes, as if awaking out of a heavy sleep, and raising herself on the bed

saluted St. Malachy. Great was the joy and admiration on this occurrence ; and the saint returned thanks to God. He then anointed her, and she recovered so as to live for some time after, and to prepare herself for a happy death by a good confession and by the performance of the penance, which he enjoined on her. (54)

(50) Life of Gelasius, *cap.* 14. and *Tr. Th.* p. 305.

(51) See *Chap.* VIII. §. 2.

(52) Probably the reason of this opinion was, that it was thought more becoming that the sacraments should not, except in cases of urgent necessity, be administered by the clergy unless fasting. In Butler's Life of St. Malachy, the cause assigned for waiting until morning is, that she might then be better disposed for the sacrament. But St. Bernard, who is the only authority on this subject, assigns no other motive than that it was evening, *erat enim vespera.*

(53) In Butler's Life St. Malachy is represented as having retired to a chamber in the nobleman's house. If so, his companions also must have had chambers allotted for them in said house. Now it would not have been consistent with the rules of monastic discipline for monks to stay out of their monastery at night without necessity ; and in this case there was no particular necessity for doing so, as the monastery was so near the house that, if called for, they could be there in a very short time. St. Bernard's words plainly indicate, that St. Malachy and his companions had left the house ; “ *exiit cum his, qui secum erant.*”

(54) St. Bernard, *Vit. S. Mal. cap.* 13. Messingham's *ed.* 24. Mabillon's. The other miraculous facts which I have touched upon, and several others, are related by him in said *cap.* 13. (Messingham) although by oversight or through a typographical error marked 8. In a part of said chapter, or *cap.* 21. (Mabillon) Cloyne is erroneously called *Duenvania* or *Duevania*, instead of *Chuenvania*.

§. VIII. St. Malachy happened to be somewhere near Cork at a time that the see of that city was vacant. On the election of a bishop a great contest

arose, which when he heard of he repaired to Cork. Summoning the clergy and people, he strove to unite the discordant parties, and induced them to leave the matter to himself as being invested with the legatine power. He immediately named not any one of the nobles of that country, but a poor man, a native of a different part of Ireland, whom he knew to be holy and learned. This man is looked for, and the account given of him was, that he was lying in bed so weak, that he could not stir out except carried by others. The saint said ; “ Let him rise in the name of the Lord ; I command him ; obedience will cure him.” What could the man do ? He was unwilling to obey, and, even were he strong, was afraid to be made a bishop. Yet not knowing how to resist St. Malachy’s order, and wishing for his health, he exerted himself to get up, and gradually felt himself becoming stronger and soon able to walk with ease. When he appeared before the assembly, he was placed on the episcopal chair with the acclamations of the clergy and people. (55) The name of this worthy bishop is not mentioned ; but I think there can be no doubt, that he was the same as the celebrated Gilla Aeda O’Mugin, who was a truly good and learned man, and who afterwards assisted at the council of Kells in 1152. He was a stranger in Cork, being a native of Connaught, and belonged to the monastery, called of St. Finbar’s cave, near that city, and which, according to some writers, was at that time possessed by Canons regular of St. Augustin. (56) St. Malachy being at Lismore met with a clerk there, a man it is said of good conduct, who denied the real presence in the sacrament of the Eucharist. He often expostulated with him in private, but could not induce him to retract his error. This clerk was at length brought, but not in a public manner, by some laymen to a meeting of clerical persons in the presence of St. Malachy, and allowed to defend himself. Notwithstanding his

being fully refuted by St. Malachy, and the unanimous opinion of the meeting against him, he still remained obstinate, pretending that he was worsted not by argument but by the bishop's (St. Malachy's) authority. The saint much grieved for his obduracy, and dreading some injury to the Catholic faith, found it necessary to summon a general assembly of the church, before which this man was made to appear. Although publicly admonished by St. Malachy, and earnestly requested by the other bishops, who attended, and all the clergy, to recant his error, he still persisted in it, so that they were obliged to anathematize him and declare him a heretic. Still determined not to submit he said, that they were all favouring the man, not the truth. Well then, replied St. Malachy, may the Lord make thee confess the truth, even through necessity; to which he answered *Amen*, or be it so. Thus the assembly broke up, after which he resolves on quitting Lismore, where he knew he would be looked upon as infamous. But he had not gone far, when he was seized with a sudden illness and forced to throw himself on the ground. A wandering idiot, who was passing that way, asked him what was the matter with him. He said that he was so ill, that he was not able to go forward or to return. The idiot then helped him back to his habitation, and the man's sentiments were so changed, that the bishop is sent for, to whom he acknowledges that he had been in error, which he retracts, and confesses the truth. He is then reconciled to the Church, makes his confession and is absolved, asks for the holy viaticum, which he receives, and very soon after departs this life. (57)

(55) St. Bernard, *ib. cap.* 13. or 23. Mabillon.

(56) This monastery has been mentioned above *Not.* 13, and also *Not.* 73, to *Chap.* xxvi. It is to be observed, that it was founded, or rather re-founded, for strangers from Connaught as

the countrymen of St. Finbarr. (See Archdall at *Cork*.) Gilla Aeda O'Mugin is reckoned among its abbots, and from him it has been called *Gill-abbey*; but it is probable, that he did not assume the government of it until after he was bishop; and thus we may answer the only objection, that can be brought against his having been the same as the poor man spoken of by St. Bernard; for, it may be said, had he been an abbot before he became bishop of Cork, would St. Bernard have called him merely a *poor man*, while contrasting him with the nobles of the country? Ware distinguishes (*Bishops of Cork*) Gilla Aeda O'Mugin from the person mentioned by St. Bernard, probably on account of his thinking that this person was appointed bishop by St. Malachy about 1140, and his supposing that this might be too early a date for Gilla Aeda, who held the see until 1172. But St. Bernard says nothing about the time of that appointment, and it might have been six or seven years later than what Ware imagined. Perhaps he was moved also by St. Bernard's calling that man an *alienigena*, as if he meant to say a *foreigner*, as in fact Harris (*ib.*) has falsely translated it. But it is plain from the context, that St. Bernard styled him *alienigena* for no other reason than that he was not a native of the diocese of Cork; and this answers quite well for Gilla Aeda O'Mugin, who was from Connaught.

(57) St. Bernard, *ib. cap.* 13, Messingham; 26. Mabillon.

§. ix. The man, whom St. Malachy had allowed to possess the lands belonging to the monastery of Bangor, (58) was constantly hostile to him and his disciples, and used to find fault with all his proceedings. He had an only son, who imitated him, particularly on one occasion. St. Malachy having undertaken to construct at Bangor a stone oratory, like those which he had seen in other countries, and begun to lay the foundation of it, some of the inhabitants wondered at it, because stone buildings were unusual in that part of Ireland. (59) That young man not only wondered, but became enraged, and by means of whisperings and detractions induced

several persons to join him in preventing the execution of the work. On their going to the spot, he addressed St. Malachy with much insolence, saying; "Good man, why have you taken it into your head to introduce this novelty into our country? We are Scots, not Frenchmen. What folly! What necessity is there for this superfluous and superb edifice? Where will you get money towards the completion of it? Who will see it finished? Stop then, desist from this madness; otherwise we will put a stop to it." Little did he know how unable he was to effectuate his threat, in which he was left alone; for the others, who went with him, had, on seeing St. Malachy, changed their minds. The saint replied; "Wretched man, the work, which you now see begun, will certainly be completed, and many will see it so; but you shall not, and beware lest you die in your sin." In fact he died in the course of that year before the oratory was finished. Meanwhile his father, being informed of what St. Malachy had foretold concerning him, said; "He has killed my son;" and denounced him to the duke and chief men of Ulidia, in which territory Bangor was situated, as a liar, &c. and abused him with the nickname of ape. St. Malachy did not answer a word; but on the same day the unfortunate man, having returned home, lost his reason and fell into the fire, out of which he was dragged not without the burning of a part of his body. St. Malachy called to see him, and found him in a dreadful ungovernable state; but on his praying for him the man opened his eyes, and recovered the use of his reason; but it seems that he was afterwards subject to certain intervals of insanity. Having become unfit to manage the lands, with which he had been entrusted, they reverted to the monastery. (60) St. Malachy really had nothing to enable him to erect the oratory, but he confided in Providence and fortunately discovered a sum of money, which had been hid in the very spot, where

the building was undertaken ; and he gave orders, that it should be all expended on the work. It is stated, that he saw in a vision a model of an oratory, and that he followed it in the construction of this edifice. It is added, that he had a similar vision with regard to not only the oratory but likewise the entire monastery of Saul. (61)

(58) See *Chap. xxvi. §. 9.*

(59) We have seen already, that long before this period there were buildings of stone in other parts of Ireland. An instance of them is Cormac's Chapel at Cashel, and a much older one was the ancient church of Duleek, which got its name, *Dam-liag*, from its house or church of stone. Harris had no right to say (*Bishops p. 56.*) that the stone oratory of Bangor is said to have been the first of that sort in Ireland.

(60) St. Bernard, *ib. cap. 14*, Messingham ; 28, Mabillon.

(61) *Ib.*

§. x. This monastery of Saul in the county of Down might seem one of those five Cistercian establishments, which St. Bernard says had been derived from Mellifont. (62) But it is not reckoned among the Cistercian monasteries, and seems to have belonged to the Canons Regular of St. Augustin after it had been erected, or rather, as usually said, repaired by St. Malachy. (63) The monastery, which he calls *Suriense*, or Suriam, was undoubtedly one of them, and, in all probability, the oldest next after Mellifont. I think it cannot be doubted, that it was somewhere near the river Suir. (64) As St. Malachy was passing through a town not far from it, where he was surrounded by a great crowd of people, he descried among them a young man, who had got upon a stone to see him, and was eying him with great attention. The saint immediately perceived that he was of a good disposition, and on the following night told the brethren what he foresaw concerning him. After two or three days a nobleman, the

master of that young man, brought him to St. Malachy and requested that he would, according to his wish, admit him among his followers. St. Malachy received him with pleasure, and entrusted him to the abbot Congan, who recommended him to the brethren of Surium, in which, in all appearance, Congan was the abbot. (65) The said young man was the first *conversus*, or lay-brother of that monastery, and led a holy life according to the Cistercian institution. (66) St. Malachy rebuilt or repaired his cathedral of Down, but in what year I do not find mentioned. (67) In 1148 he consecrated the church, under the names of St. Peter and Paul, of the monastery or Knock-na-Sengan, since called *Knock abbey*, near Louth, which was founded and endowed for Augustin Canons by Donogh O'Carrol, prince of Oriel, and Edan O'Kelly or O'Killedy, bishop of Clogher. (68) St. Malachy was uneasy about the palliums, and was sorry that they had not been applied for during the life-time of Innocent II. who had promised to give them. Innocent died in 1143; his successor Celestine II. held the pontificate for less than six months; and after him Lucius II. for little more than eleven months, on whose death in February, 1145, Eugene III. was placed on the Holy see. This Pope had been a monk of Clairvaux and a disciple of St. Bernard. St. Malachy had therefore a good right to suppose, that he would be favourable to his wish for obtaining the palliums, and thought it advisable, that the opportunity of a journey of the Pope to France should be seized upon. Accordingly a synod is convoked by St. Malachy and Gelasius of Armagh to be held in the year 1148 in the church of Inis-Patrick, (Holmpatrick) which was attended by 15 bishops, 200 priests, and many of the inferior clergy. (69) Having sat for three days, and made many useful regulations, the business relative to the palliums was treated of on the fourth. It was agreed to, but a wish was expressed that St. Malachy should

not be the messenger. Yet, as he was inclined to go, and it being supposed that, having to proceed no farther than France, he would not be long absent, no one presumed to oppose his determination.

(62) See above *Not.* 41.

(63) Ware, who was very particular in investigating the history of the Cistercian houses in Ireland, has (*Antiq. cap.* 26.) the abbey of Saul, which, he says, was repaired by St. Malachy, among those of the Canons Regular of St. Augustin; but he was wrong in supposing, that it had belonged to them since the days of St. Patrick; for, as we have often seen, there were no such Canons in the world until many centuries after St. Patrick's death.

(64) Ware (*ib.* at *Tipperary*) makes mention of the Cistercian abbey of Inislaunaght, or De Surio, a place near the Suir 3½ miles West of Clonmel. He says, that it was founded in 1159, while others make it later. If so, it was different from the one mentioned by St. Bernard. But perhaps it was only re-founded or newly endowed after St. Bernard's death; or, as Ware observes, the monks of the former De Surio, or Surium, might have removed to Inislaunaght. I have remarked elsewhere (*Not.* 69. to *Chap.* xvii.) on the mistakes of Colgan, Harris, and Archdall relative to this place. Lynch was inclined to think, (*Cambr. evers.* p. 169), that Surium was the same as Shrowl in the county of Longford; but, as he objects to himself, the monastery of Shrowl is said to have been founded in 1150 or 1152, and consequently after the death of St. Malachy. Besides, the name is much different from *Surium*.

(65) This is sufficiently clear from the context of St. Bernard, and his speaking of that young man as a member of the monastery of Surium. Congan was the person, at whose request St. Bernard wrote the Life of St. Malachy, and who helped him with materials for composing it. (See *Preface* to it.) Some say, that he wrote one himself. It has been also said, that he wrote *Acts of St. Bernard*. See Ware and Harris, *Writers at Congan*.

(66) St. Bernard, *ib.* cap. 14, Messingham; 29, Mabillon.

(67) See Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 29. at *Down*.

(68) *Tr. Th.* p. 305. Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Louth*, and

Bishops of Clogher at Edan. *Knock-na-Sengan* signifies the *hill of ants*. Colgan places it in the town of Louth, and Ware near it; it might have been formerly in the town. Colgan elsewhere (*AA. SS. p. 737*) speaks of the church consecrated by St. Malachy as merely the church of Louth, and seems to distinguish it from that of Knock-na-sengan. Ware (*loc. cit.*) and after him Harris (*Monast.*) and Archdall (at *Louth*) have another monastery of Augustin Canons in Louth itself, which, they say, was founded by the same prince Donogh and bishop Edan. It was probably no other than the ancient abbey of Louth restored and renewed, as may be conjectured from its church being called, as the old one had been, by the name of St. Mary. For Edan O'Kelly see above §. 3,

(69) Life of Gelasius, *cap. 15.* and *Tr. Th. p. 305.* See also the Annals of Innisfallen at *A. 1148.* In these documents mention is made of the enacting of good rules by the synod.

§. XI. St. Malachy immediately set out, and was accompanied as far as the sea shore by some brethren, but not many, as he ordered them not to follow him. One of them, named *Catholicus*, who was subject to epileptic fits, lamented with tears his being abandoned by the saint without his doing any thing for him, while he suffered so severely, and was constantly troublesome to the other brethren. St. Malachy, having compassion on him, embraced him, and making the sign of the cross on his breast said; "Be assured, that you will not suffer any thing of the kind until I return." In fact, Catholicus was freed from those fits without being afterwards attacked by them. Just as St. Malachy was entering the ship, two other brethren represented to him, that they wished for a favour. On his asking them what it was, they answered that they would not tell, unless he promised to do it. He promised that he would; and then they said; "your Reverence will please to give us your word, that you will return safe to Ireland," and in this they were joined by the rest

of them. At first he was sorry for the promise he had made, but wishing not to make them uneasy he agreed, as well as he could, to their request. When the ship was half way over, a contrary wind arose and drove it back to the Irish coast. St. Malachy landed on a part of it, where there was one of his own churches, in which he spent the night, and thanking Providence considered this circumstance as a fulfilment of his pledge to the brethren. Returning to sea he arrived after a quick passage in Scotland, and on the third day came to a place called *Green-Pool*, (70) where he had got a monastery prepared, in which he now placed a Cistercian abbot and monks, whom he brought with him from Ireland for that purpose. Taking leave of them and travelling along, he was met by the king David, who detained him for some days. On the saint's entering England, he stopped for a while at Gisburn, where some holy men following a canonical rule lived, with whom he had been long acquainted. While there, a woman afflicted with a dreadful cancer was brought to him, whom he cured by sprinkling water, which he blessed, on the ulcers. When arrived at a sea-port, he was denied a passage to the continent; for the king (Stephen), who had some dispute with the Pope, would not allow any bishop to pass over. (71)

(70) *Viride stagnum*. Some have confounded this place with *Viride lignum*, *Green wood*. But *Viride lignum* was the Cistercian monastery of Newry, which was founded some years after St. Malachy's death.

(71) St. Bernard, *ib. cap.* 16, Messingham; 30, Mabillon.

§. XII. Owing to this delay St. Malachy lost the opportunity of seeing the Pope Eugene III. in France, and particularly at Clairvaux, where he spent some time; (72) for he had returned to Italy, before St. Malachy, having got permission to sail

from England, could overtake him in France. The saint continuing his course reached Clairvaux in October, 1148, and was received with the utmost joy by St. Bernard and his holy monks. Having spent with them four or five of the happiest days possible on both sides, he was seized, after having celebrated mass, on the festival of St. Luke with a fever, and obliged to take to his bed. At first it was thought to be of little consequence; but every attention, that could be used, was paid to him. He told those good men, that it was all in vain; and when his Irish brethren, who had come along with him, encouraged him not to give himself up, he said to them; "Malachy must die this year; behold, the day is approaching, which, as you well know, I always wished should be my last." Having called for Extreme unction, he would not allow the clergymen to go up stairs to where he lay, but came down to them. Being anointed, he received the holy viaticum, and recommending himself to the prayers of the brethren, and the brethren to God, returned to bed. On finding the last night of his life coming on, he spoke with the greatest spiritual hilarity, and said to those about him; "Take care of me; I shall not forget you, if it will be allowed; but it will be allowed. I have believed in God, and do believe that all things are possible. I have loved God; I have loved you; and charity never faileth." Then looking towards heaven he says; "O God, preserve them in thy name, and not only them, but likewise all those, who through my words and ministry have bound themselves to thy service." Then placing his hands on the heads of each of them, and blessing them all, he desired them to go to rest, whereas his hour was not yet come. About midnight the whole community assembled, and several abbots were in attendance with St. Bernard and the brethren to watch his exit. Not long after he expired in the 54th year of his age, on the 2d of November, A. D.

1148, in the place and time (All Souls day), which he had wished for and foretold. His death was like a sleep; so placid and chearful was his countenance, as if he were alive. His body was carried on the shoulders of abbots to the oratory, where the holy sacrifice was offered for him, the funeral service performed; and every thing conducted with the greatest devotion. St. Bernard, having observed a boy in the oratory, one of whose arms was dead, pointed to him to come forward. The boy did so, and applied the dead arm to the hand of St. Malachy, upon which he recovered the use of it. The remains of the saint were deposited on the same day in the oratory of the Blessed Virgin Mary. (73) St. Bernard preached a funeral oration in honour of him on said day, and another sermon of a similar purport, apparently on an anniversary of his death. (73*) St. Malachy was canonized, many years after his death, by Pope Clement, probably the third, rather than the fourth, as some seem to have thought. (74) He was undoubtedly the greatest, the holiest, and the most disinterested of the bishops of his times. St. Bernard, a truly competent judge, could scarcely find words sufficient to express his admiration of him. It may seem odd, that St. Malachy has been called head of the religion not only of Ireland but likewise of Scotland; (75) but this may be understood relatively to the great esteem, in which he was held by the princes and people of that country, and to his having formed there some religious establishments; or perhaps to the traditionary account of a dependance of the Scottish churches of N. Britain on Armagh. (76) As to his being reckoned among the Irish writers, I cannot find any sufficient reason for it, except his having written some letters, not extant, to St. Bernard, and probably to some others. (77) He was succeeded in the see of Down, by Moeliosa Mac-In-clericuir, a learned man who has been called Malachy II. (78)

(72) See Fleury, *Hist Eccl.* L. 69. §. 38.

(73) St. Bernard, *ib. cap.* xvi. xvii. *seqq.* Messingham; 31, Mabillon. The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th.* p. 305.) agree with St. Bernard as to the year and day of St. Malachy's death, observing, as does also Baronius, that his festival was transferred to the following day to avoid the concurrence with that of All Souls. The Annals of Innisfallen also place his death in 1148. Harris (*Archbishops of Armagh at St. Malachy*) mentions some idle opinions concerning the year of his death or the day of his festival, which are not worth examination.

(73*) These sermons may be seen in the first volume of Mabillon's edition of St. Bernard's works, *col.* 1047, *seqq.* He also announced St. Malachy's death to the religious brethren of Ireland, and particularly to the congregations which he had founded, in a most affectionate consolatory letter, No. 45, in Usher's *Sylloge*, and 374 in Mabillon's *ed.*

(74) The bull of canonization has been published by Mabillon, *ib.* immediately after the Life of St. Malachy. It is addressed to the general chapter of the Cistercians, and dated the third year of Pope Clement's pontificate. Mabillon says, *Chronologia Bernardina*, *col.* x. towards the end of the 1st *Vol.* of St. Bernard's works, that the canonization of St. Malachy is marked at A. 1192 in the chronicle of Clairvaux *ap. Fr. Chifflet*. It will be objected, that this cannot agree with its having been in the third year of Clement III. who died in 1191, and whose third year was 1190. But, although the bull may be fairly supposed to have been issued in 1190, it might not have been acted upon by the Cistercian order until 1192, after due notice had been given of it and matters arranged for the solemnization of St. Malachy's festival.

(75) Annals of Innisfallen at A. 1148.

(76) See above §. 4. and 11. Also *Not.* 35 to *Chap.* xv.

(77) Concerning the tracts attributed to St. Malachy see Ware and Harris *Writers at Malachy*. In our days nobody will think of making him the author of the famous forged prophecy concerning the Popes.

(78) Ware, *Bishops at Down*. Some French writers, *ex. c. Menard* (*Observat. ad Martyrol. Bened.* 18 *Mart.*) and Fleury *Hist. Eccl.* L. 69. §. 41.) have said, that Christian, abbot of

Mellifont, was bishop of Down after St. Malachy, which they deduced from its having been stated, that St. Malachy was succeeded by Christian. But this should have been understood not relatively to the see of Down, but as to his having been the next Apostolic legate after St. Malachy; not that he was appointed to that office immediately after St. Malachy's death, nor probably until at least two years later. Christian was never bishop of Down, but became bishop of Lismore, the only see that he held at any time. The French ecclesiastical historians and antiquaries, not excepting even such men as D'Achery and Mabillon, have, when treating or touching on matters of Irish church history, fallen into many mistakes, owing to their not having thought it worth their while to consult the documents, by which they might have been best guided, such as Colgan's collections; and some of them seem to have been unacquainted even with the works of Ware.

§. xiii. In the said year 1148 after the departure of St. Malachy, Gelasius, archbishop of Armagh, brought about in an assembly held at Armagh a reconciliation between Murchertach or Maurice O'Lochlin, the prince of Tyrone, and the chieftains and nobles of Orgiel and Ulidia, who recognized the supreme power of O'Lochlin and gave him hostages. (79) To this year is assigned the foundation of a monastery of Augustin Canons in Louth by Donogh O'Carrol, prince of Orgiel, and Edan, bishop of Clogher, (80) and the death of O'Dubhin, bishop of Kildare. (81) In 1149 died Nehemias O'Morier-tach bishop of Cloyne, who is highly praised by Irish writers. (82) A very respectable prelate, Muredach O'Dubhthaich, or O'Dubhai, bishop of Tuam, greatly esteemed for his wisdom and liberality, died in the 75th year of his age on the festival of St. Brendan (16th of May) *A. D.* 1150, and was buried in the monastery of Cong. (83) During his incumbency Turlogh O'Conor erected the priory of St. John Baptist at Tuam. (84) In the same year 1150 a great part of Armagh was destroyed by fire,

after which Gelasius made a visitation of his diocese, partly for the purpose of procuring contributions towards re-building and repairing what been burned, in which he was successful. (85) According to some accounts four Cistercian abbeys were founded in 1151, *viz.* those of Bective in the county of Meath, Boyle in the county of Roscommon, Magio, *alias* Nenay, in the county of Limerick, and Baltinglass in the county of Wicklow. (86) But it is much more probable, that at least some of them were founded earlier. (87) If, as can scarcely be doubted, these were among the five monasteries derived from Mellifont, which existed at the time St. Bernard was writing the Life of St. Malachy, they must have been established prior to 1151. They are, next to Mellifont, the oldest that appear in the catalogue of the Irish Cistercian houses. (88) Now St. Bernard wrote that work before 1151, as is plain from his speaking of Christian merely as abbot of Mellifont at that time. But it cannot be doubted, that Christian was bishop of Lismore, and even Apostolic legate in said year. He succeeded Moelmonech O'Lonsec, who died in 1150. (89) Christian (Gilla-Criost) was of a family named *O'Conairche*; and, as he was brother to the monk Malchus, (90) it must be supposed, that he was a native of the country about Bangor.

(79) Life of Gelasius, *cap.* 15. and *Tr. Th.* p. 306.

(80) See above *Not.* 67.

(81) *Tr. Th.* p. 630. and Ware, *Bishops* at Kildare.

(82) The 4 Masters, (*ap. Tr. Th.* p. 308.) who have his death at *A.* 1149, call him a bishop of the South of Ireland, and represent him as very wise, devout and chaste. He is praised also in the Vision of Tundal or Tungal. (See Ware, *Bishops* at *Cloyne.*) St. Bernard makes mention of him, as we have seen above, §. 7.

(83) Ware and Harris, *Bishops* at Tuam.

(84) Ware, *ib.* and *Antiq.* *cap.* 26. at Galway, where he says,

that he does not find of what order said priory was. Harris (*ib.*) makes it of that of Augustin Canons; yet at *Monasteries* he states that the order is uncertain.

(85) Life of Gelasius, *cap.* 16. and *Tr. Th.* p. 306.

(86) Annals of Mary's Abbey at *A.* 1151.

(87) Ware states (*Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Limerick*) that the house of Magio, or Nenay, was founded in 1148 by, it is thought, O'Brian, I suppose Turlogh O'Brian king of Munster. Of Bective or the monastery *De Beatitudine*, he says, (*ib.* at *Meath*) that it was founded by Murchard O'Melaghlin, prince of Meath, but that the Cistercian Chronologists differ as to the time, some having *A.* 1146, others 1148, and others again 1151. Treating of Baltinglass, or *De Vale salutis*, (*ib.* at *Wicklow*) founded by Dermot Mac Morrogh, king of Leinster, he mentions that some assign it to 1118, others to 1151; and with regard to Boyle he relates (*ib.* at *Roscommon*) that, before the Cistercians removed to it, they were first settled in 1148, under an abbot Peter O'Morda, at a place called *Grellechdine*, whence they went to Dromconaid with their second abbot Eðan O'Maccain, thence with his successor Maurice O'Dubhai to Buinfinny, and finally to Boyle in 1161, or, as others say, 1151. I pass by what he has about these monasteries in the *Coenob. Cisterc.* For he afterwards changed several of the positions stated in that tract.

(88) Harris has (*Monaster.*) a Cistercian abbey at Athlone, under the name of St. Peter and St. Benedict, which he assigns to *A.* 1150. He took this date from Ware's *Coenob. Cisterc.*; but Ware himself who makes mention of this abbey again (*Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Roscommon*) and says, that it was called *De Innocentia*, marks no date for it, nor does Archdall at *Athlone, Roscommon*. It may be said, that Shrowl or Shrule, *alias De Benedictione Dei*, might have been one of the five alluded to by St. Bernard, if it be true that it was founded in 1150. Yet Ware observes, (*ib.* at *Longford*) that some assign it to 1152. Probably Mary's Abbey of Dublin was become Cistercian at the time of St. Bernard's writing; but it was not derived from Mellifont. (Compare with *Not.* 41.)

(89) See *Chap.* xxvi. §. 15. Ware was right (*Bishops at Lismore*) in assigning Christian's accession to about 1150; I think it was in that very year. I have remarked above (*Not.* 78.) on

the mistake of those, who have made him bishop of Down. Another still grosser mistake is that of some writers quoted and refuted by Colgan, (*AA. SS.* at 18 *Mart.* where he treats of Christian) who have said that he was archbishop of Armagh, as if he could be so while Gelasius held that see. This, like the other mistake, was derived from his having been the next Apostolic legate after St. Malachy, whence it was inferred that he succeeded the saint also as bishop, or even archbishop.

(90) See *Chap.* xxvi. §. 9.

§. xiv. According to some accounts it would seem, that Christian, soon after he became bishop of Lismore, went to Rome. For it has been said, that he came to Ireland in company with Cardinal Paparo. (91) Yet it is odd that, had he gone to Rome, something more would not have been mentioned about it. (92) Perhaps he went to Scotland there to meet the Cardinal and conduct him to Ireland. For Paparo being sent with the palliums by Pope Eugene III. first came to England, but was refused a passport for the continuance of his journey by king Stephen, unless he would take his oath, that he would not in his progress do any thing prejudicial to the interests of the English kingdom. The Cardinal, feeling indignant at this proposal returned to Rome, where Stephen's conduct on this occasion excited much displeasure. Afterwards he set out again taking the route of Scotland, and was honourably received by the king David about Michaelmas. (93) Thence he went to Ireland, where he arrived in the latter part of the year 1151. (94) He remained seven days with Gelasius at Armagh, who, soon after it seems, went to Connaught, apparently for the purpose of consulting with the king Turlogh O'Connor, and forwarding the business of the approaching synod, (95) which, being convoked, met at Kells (96) on the 9th of March, *A. D.* 1152. (97) It was presided by Cardinal Paparo, as the Pope's legate, to whom some add as also presiding, Christian,

who was likewise Apostolic legate. (98) Several bishops did not attend at this synod; and one of the reasons of their absence seems to have been, that many of the Irish were displeased at palliums being intended for the sees of Dublin and Tuam, whereas they thought that none should be granted except to Armagh and Cashel, which was already an archbishopric. And it is observed, that the clergy of Armagh and Down particularly insisted on this point. (99) The names of the prelates, who, besides Paparo who was only a Cardinal priest of the title of St. Laurence in Damaso, were actually present, are thus given: "Christian O'Conairche, bishop of Lismore and the Pope's legate in Ireland; Gelasius comorban (successor) of St. Patrick, and primate of Ireland; Domnald O'Lonargain, archbishop of Munster (Cashel); Grenius, or Gregory (*alias* Greri) bishop of Dublin; Gilla na-noemh, or Nehemias Laigneath, bishop of Glendaloch; Dungal O'Coellaidhe, bishop of Leighlin; Fostius, bishop of Portlargo, or Waterford; Domnald O'Fogarty, Vicar general of the bishop of Ossory; Finn Mac-Kienan, bishop of Kildare; Gilda-An choimthe O'Hardmaoil, vicar of the bishop of Emly; Gilla-Aidus O'Maighin, bishop of Cork; Mac-ronan, comorban of St. Brendan, that is, bishop of Clonfert; Brendan, bishop of Kerry; Torgest, bishop of Limerick; Murchertac O'Moeluidhir, bishop of Clonmacnois; Moeliosa O'Connachtain, bishop of East Connaught (Roscommon); Huaruadhanic, or O'Ruadan, bishop of Lugnia (Achonry); Mac-crath O'Morain, bishop of Conmacne of Hi-Briun; Muredach O'Cobhtaich, bishop of Kinel Eogain; Moelpatrick O'Banain, bishop of the Dalaradians (Connor); and Moeliosa Mac-Clerich-corr, bishop of the Ulidians (Down)." (100) There were present also many abbots and priors, besides a multitude of inferior clergy. (101)

(91) Ware in his treatise on the Archbishops of Cashel, published in 1626, many years before his general work on the Bishops of Ireland, quotes (at *Donatus O'Lonargan*) an anonymous writer of those times, who says at *A. 1152*, that Cardinal John Paparo came to Ireland together with Christian, bishop of Lismore, and legate of all Ireland. But he has omitted this quotation in the general work, probably thinking that it was not well founded. Fleury, however, refers to it, (*Hist. Eccl. L. 69. §. 62.*), and makes Paparo and Christian come together to Ireland.

(92) In the Annals of Mary's abbey it is said, that Paparo came to Ireland with Christian, but, unless the copy, which I have seen among Harris' MSS., be incorrect, under a palpably wrong date, viz. *A. 1148*. Colgan, although he quotes (*Life of Gelasius, cap. 17.*) from Ware the passage of the anonymous writer, yet in the very same chapter says, that there is no account of any one after St. Malachy having gone from Ireland to Rome for the purpose of procuring the palliums; whence we may conclude, that he knew nothing about a journey of Christian to Rome; for, if he did, he would naturally have mentioned it as connected with the affair of the palliums. And in the *Acts of Christian* at 18 March he has not a word about his having travelled to Rome.

(93) See Fleury, *loc. cit.* and Pagi (*Critica, &c.* at *A. 1151*) from John of Hagustald's Continuation of the History of Simon of Durham.

(94) 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. p. 306*. It is unnecessary to quote other authorities to prove, that this was the year of Cardinal Paparo's arrival in Ireland. For nothing is more certain, as will be soon seen, than that the synod of Kells was held in March, 1152. Now, as he did not reach Ireland until a late period of the year, his arrival must consequently be assigned to 1151, probably in October, between which and the following March there was not more than sufficient time for summoning the bishops to the council, their travelling to attend at it, and other necessary preparations. The anonymous writer quoted by Ware (see *Not. 91.*) places Paparo's arrival in 1152, and led him astray not only at *Donatus O'Lonargan*, but likewise in his general work on Bishops at *Gelasius of Armagh*. Fleury also (*loc. cit.*) fell into the same mistake. That writer confounded the year of the synod with that of Paparo's arrival, as if the synod could have assembled as soon

as the early part of March, 1152, if he did not reach Ireland until said year.

(95) Colgan (*Life of Gelasius*, cap. 18.) refers to the Irish annals, meaning those of the 4 Masters, for Gelasius having gone to Connaught in 1152; but Dr. O'Connor, who has before him the very original copy of said annals, says, (*Rer. Hib. &c. 2 Proleg.* p. 156.) that it was in 1151. Besides, Colgan contradicts himself; for he states, that in the same year the pious queen Dervorgalla, wife of Turlogh O'Connor, died at Armagh. Now elsewhere (*Tr. Th.* p. 306.) he assigns, from the 4 Masters, her death to A. 1151.

(96) The anonymous writer, quoted by Ware, has *Mell*, instead of *Kell* or *Kells*. Perhaps this is owing to a mistake of a transcriber; but hence seems to have proceeded the opinion of those, who thought that Mellifont, which they supposed the same as Mell, was the place where the council was held. Ware speaks doubtfully of this matter; yet he says, (*Archbishops of Armagh at Gelasius*) that it is more generally agreed that Kells is the place. Fleury, (*loc. cit.*) and Pagi (*Critica ad A. 1152*) following that anonymous authority, have Mellifont. But it is clear from authentic Irish documents, such as the Annals of Cluain-eidhneach, (Clonenagh) written about the same time, that the council sat at Kells, alias *Kennanus*, in the now county of Meath. Those annals are quoted by Keating (*Book 2. p. 104.* Dublin *ed.*) and from him by Colgan. (*Tr. Th.* p. 306. and *AA. SS.* p. 654 and 775.) Yet it may be, that after Cardinal Paparo's departure, some of the bishops assembled again at Mellifont under the presidency of Christian, who was then Apostolic legate. And thus perhaps we may account for the singular statement of the Annals of Innisfallen at A. 1152, that the synod was held at Drogheda, or, as some have said, *ad monasterium Pontanense*, inasmuch as Mellifont, being not far from Drogheda, might have been called its monastery.

(97) This is the year marked for the celebration of the council of Kells not only in the Annals of Innisfallen, but likewise in those of Mary's Abbey, Multifernan and others. (See Harris, *Archbishops of Armagh at Gelasius*.) It is the date also of the 4 Masters; and accordingly Colgan was wrong (*A. SS.* p. 779.) in saying, that they assign it to 1151. For, as observed by Dr. O'Connor, (*loc.*

et. in Not. 95. above) they have 1152. The same year is expressly marked in the Annals of Cluain-eidhneach; and, to confirm it still more, they add that it was a bissextile, or leap year, such as 1152 was. Usher seems to have thought, (*Ind. Chron. ad Pr.*) that the synod, although he does not mention it, was held in 1151; but, if he did, he confounded the date of it with that of Paparo's arrival in Ireland. The wretched translator of Keating, Dermot O'Connor, makes him say, that the synod assembled in 1157, and has greatly puzzled poor Harris, who set about proving (*ib.*) that Keating was mistaken. But Keating was not to blame; for in his genuine text, as quoted three times by Colgan, he has not 1157, but 1152; and Harris himself remarks, that in a MS. English translation of Keating's history in Marsh's library the year marked is 1152. That the first day of sitting was the 9th of March is clear from its being stated in the Annals of Cluain-eidhneach, that it was the *Dominica Laetare*, or the fourth Sunday in Lent, which in that year fell on the 9th not on the 8th, as Colgan says, of March, whereas Easter Sunday was the 30th. Dr. O'Connor quotes (2 *Prol.* p. 159.) from the old book of Flannan Mac Eogan a passage, in which it is said, that the synod began *pridie Non. Martii*, that is, on the sixth of March. But how can this agree with the assertion of its having begun on the *Dominica Laetare*? Of this more lower down.

(98) In the Annals of Cluain-eidhneach the Cardinal alone is spoken of as president of the council, and Christian is mentioned merely as having attended at it. But Keating himself says, that Christian also presided, and so does Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 654. The anonymous writer, quoted by Ware, leaves out Paparo as president, and states that it was Christian, who held the council of Mell, as he calls it. (See above Not. 96.) And yet he supposes that Paparo was present. The Annals of Mary's abbey in like manner make Christian alone president of the council. I suspect, that this statement originated with the Cistercians, to whose order Christian had belonged. But the Annals of Cluain-eidhneach are more deserving of attention.

(99) Keating, as quoted by Colgan, (*AA. SS.* p. 654 and 776.) refers to the Annals of Cluain-eidhneach for this account; but his miserable translator has perverted his text by making him say, that it was not to the palliums for Dublin and Tuam, but to that for

Cashel, that the clergy of Armagh and Down objected. Keating's statement is confirmed by the old book of Flannan Mac-Eogan *ap. Dr. O'Connor, loc. cit.*

(100) This list is quoted three times by Colgan from Keating's original, as taken from the Annals of Cluain-eidhneach; but Keating's bungling translator has given us a different one, which is no other than that published by Ware (*Ant. cap. 16.*) from an old MS. except that he has spoiled some names mentioned by Ware. In Ware's list Eda, or Aidan O'Hossin (not *O'Heyn*, as that translator has) appears between O'Lonargain of Munster or Cashel, and Gregory of Dublin, and is called archbishop of Connaught, *i. e.* Tuam. But he is not in Keating's text, as Colgan expressly remarks. Perhaps he was sick at the time; for it cannot be supposed, that he had any ecclesiastical objection to the synod, as there was a pallium intended for him. The same pseudo-translator adds *Greine* to the name of *Tuam*, not knowing that Tuamgreine, now Tomgrany in the county of Clare, was quite different from the archiepiscopal town of Tuam in the county of Galway. He found *Greine*, or *Greri*, mentioned by Ware next after the word *Tuam*; but Ware's meaning is, that *Greine* or *Greri* was the same person as Gregory of Dublin. Among other alterations of Ware's words he has changed the name of O'Maigin, bishop of Cork, into *O'Heyn*; and hence Harris (at *Bishops of Cork*) says, that O'Maigin is called O'Heyn by Keating. He should have said, *by his translator*; for in Keating's original the name is *O'Maighin* or *Maigin*, as Harris might have easily found in the various quotations from it by Colgan. Ware calls Domnald O'Fogarty *bishop of Ossory*, and, in like manner Gilda-An-choimide *bishop of Emly*. To the bishop of Kildare he gives the surname not of *Mac-Kienan* but *Mac-Tiarcaín*. He makes Mac-ronan bishop of Kerry or Ardfert, instead of Clonfert, and then leaves out Brendan, who was the real bishop of Kerry. This was owing to his having found the name of Brendan occurring twice in this order; "*Mac-ronan, comorban of St. Brendan; Brendan, bishop of Kerry*. Now by the former Brendan was meant the great St. Brendan, founder of the monastery of Clonfert, and by the latter Brendan the then actual bishop of Kerry or Ardfert. Ware confounded them into one Brendan, and thus made Mac-ronan bishop of Kerry; a mistake, which he has also (*Bishops at Ardfert*), and

in which he has been followed by Harris. He adds two bishops not mentioned by Keating or Colgan, *viz.* Ethru O'Miadachain, bishop of Clonard, and Tuathal O'Connachtaigh, bishop of Huam-briuin, which he explains by Enagh-dune, now Annadown. The Conmacne, of which Mac-crath O'Morain was bishop, he explains by Ardagh; for, one of the districts, called by that name, was in the now county of Longford. But he is not right in making Muredach O'Cobtaich bishop of Derry at the time of the council of Kells; for, in the first place Kinel-Eogain, of which he is called bishop, was the territory now called Tyrone, which did not comprize the district about Derry; and we find among the signatures to the foundation charter of the Cistercian abbey of Newry his name under the title of bishop of Tir-eoghain. Secondly, Ware himself (*Bishops at Derry*) does not make him bishop of Derry until after Flathbert O'Brolcan, who became bishop of that see in 1158, and lived for some years after. As to the particular name of Muredach's see in Tyrone, it was not Clogher, whose bishop was then Edan O'Killedy, and who, by the bye, did not attend at the synod. Besides, the bishops of Clogher used to be styled bishops of Ergall or Oriel. I have no doubt, that it was the ancient see of Ardsrath or Ardstraw in Tyrone, otherwise called Rathlure. (See *Chap. XII. §. 3* and *ib. Not. 35.*) Keating makes mention of it, under the name of *Ardsrath*, as existing at the time of the synod of Rathbreasil; (*Chap. xxv. §. 13.*) but, when treating of the council of Kells, he calls it Rathlure.

In the old book of Flannan Mac-Eogan there is another list of the prelates assembled at Kells, which has been published by Dr. O'Connor, 2 *Prol. p.* 159. In it we find Aed O'Ossin of Tuam. The bishop of Kildare is called *Mac-Tiarcaín*. Gilla Aeda O'Maigin of Cork is omitted. Donnald O'Fogarty is called *bishop of Ossory*. Torgesius of Limerick is omitted; but in his stead Gilla An-chomdhe O'Hardmaoil appears as bishop of that see. This is evidently a mistake; for he belonged to Emly, either as bishop or vicar. Likewise Mac-Ronan of Clonfert is omitted. In this list are the bishops of Clonard and Huam-briuin, as mentioned by Ware.

(101) The abbots and priors are mentioned by Keating from the Annals of Cluain-eidneach; and the 4 Masters, according to Dr. O'Connor, (2 *Prol. p.* 156.) say, that 3000 clergymen were

present at the synod. The anonymous writer *ap.* Ware adds kings, dukes, and other distinguished laymen.

§. xv. The council being assembled, Cardinal Paparo distributed the four palliums for Armagh, Cashel, Dublin, and Tuam. (102) He then declared, as it was right to do, the archbishop of Armagh primate over the others. (103) A decree was issued against simony, a crime which was in those times but too prevalent throughout the Christian world. (104) Usury also was condemned; and the Cardinal ordered, in virtue of apostolical authority, that tithes should be paid. (105) On this point he was very badly obeyed; for it is certain, that tithes were, if at all, very little exacted in Ireland until after the establishment of the English power. Suffragan sees were fixed for the four metropolitans, and are thus reckoned; 1. Under Armagh were placed Connor, Down, Louth or Clogher, Clonard, Kells, Ardagh, Raphoe, Rathlure or Ardstraw, Duleek, Derry. 2. Under Cashel are named Killaloe, Limerick, Iniscathy, Kilfenora, Emly, Roscrea, Waterford, Lismore, Cloyn, Cork, Ross, Ardfert. 3. Under Dublin only five sees, Glendaloch, Ferns, Ossory, Leighlin, Kildare. 4. Under Tuam are mentioned Mayo, Killalla, Roscommon, Clonfert, Achonry, Clonmacnois, Kilmacduagh. (106) These were the only regulations, of which I find any authentic account, (107) enacted in this synod, the whole being relative to discipline and morality. No decrees were issued as to points of faith or doctrine; for there was no question concerning such subjects. (108) The synod being terminated, Cardinal Paparo immediately set out on his return to Rome, and crossed the sea on the 24th of March. (109) Hence we find that the synod did not sit for many days, as it had commenced on the 9th of said month. (110)

In the course of the same year 1152 one of the bishops, who had assisted at the synod, Dungal

O'Coellaidhe, or O'Cellaie, of Leighlin, died ; (111) as did also Fergal O'Ferehubuis, a professor of theology at Armagh. (112) To the preceding year is assigned the death of a bishop of Killala, Maelfogamair, probably the only one of that see, whose name occurs after that of the founder St. Muredach. (113)

(102) Such is the order, in which the four sees are mentioned by Hoveden at A. 1151, who calls them *Armarc, Cassel, Diviline, Connath*. In the Annals of Cluain-eidneach in Keating's original text they are placed thus ; Dublin, Cashel, Tuam, and Armagh. The author did not attend to the rank of precedency. From his having accidentally mentioned Dublin first some persons derived a foolish argument as if to show, that its see was made the primatial one of Ireland. That author could not have thought so ; for he tells us immediately after, that the archbishop of Armagh was declared the primate. In all the lists of the prelates, who attended at the synod, Gregory of Dublin is named after not only Gelasius of Armagh, but likewise Donnald of Cashel. (See more in *Jus. Prim. Armac.* §. 17. *seqq.*) Hoveden, giving an account of the Irish sees, as they existed at the time of the arrival of Henry II. and reckoning them according to the order of rank, has first Armagh, subjoining its suffragan sees ; then Cashel with its suffragans ; next Dublin, &c. ; and this was undoubtedly the order of dignity and precedency of our archbishops until Dublin became the civil metropolis of Ireland.

(103) The words of the Annals of Cluain-eidneach are, as follows ; “ *Insuper Ardmachanum archiepiscopum in primatem super alios, ut decuit, ordinavit.*” The *ut decuit* refers to the ancient right of primacy annexed to Armagh since the time of St. Patrick.

(104) It is laughable to hear the mighty Ledwich saying, (*Antiq. p.* 445.) that the simoniacal traffic was more advantageously carried on Ireland by those lords, who had embraced the Romish, as he calls them, tenets and party, because they found more purchasers than in their own sept. Where did the great antiquary find this piece of intelligence ? The simony condemned by the council of Kells was not, at least in general,

such as that understood by Ledwich, viz. the selling of bishoprics and abbeys by great Lords, of which scarcely an instance can be found in our history, but the bad practice complained of by Lanfranc of Canterbury, who, to use the Doctor's phraseology, was of the Romish party, and followed by some bishops in taking money for conferring holy orders. See *Chap.* xxiv. §. 12.

(105) Annals of Cluain-eidneach *ap.* Keating. Ledwich does not grumble at Paparo's proposing the payment of tithes, and talks of the divine right of them, &c. They were dear to his heart: *Cicero pro domo sua*.

(106) It is thus the sees are reckoned by Keating (*Book* 2. *p.* 104.) with whom Ware agrees (*Antiq. cap.* 16.) as to the names, although differently spelled, which he took from the *Census Camerales* of Cencius styled *Camerarius*, who was afterwards Pope Honorius III. It is odd, that Derry is named among the sees, that existed at the time of the council of Kells; for we read in the Life of Gelasius, that it was not a regular see until the year 1158, as Ware himself has at *Bishops of Derry*. And, what is equally strange, Keating reckons it among the bishoprics fixed by the synod of Rathbreasil. But I greatly doubt, whether the suffragan sees enumerated by Cencius, were exactly the same as those fixed by the synod of Kells; for Cencius wrote many years after the synod. On the other hand Keating's list was, I believe, taken from that of Cencius, and thence the name of Derry might have crept into his account of the synod of Rathbreasil. The sees of Clogher and Louth were united, and probably for many years prior to the synod, the last bishop of Louth alone, whom we meet with, having been Moenach O'Ciordubhain, who died in 1045. (*AA. SS. p.* 736.) In later times the town of Louth and other parts of that ancient diocese were annexed to Armagh, as Ware observes *loc. cit.* Elphin is not named in these lists, which Ware wondered at (*Bishops at Elphin*) and therefore thought it highly probable, that it was already united with the see of Roscommon. This is certainly very probable, and I should think it certain, did not Ware himself supply us (*ib.*) with a difficulty founded on his mentioning a bishop of Elphin, Flanachan O'Dubhai, who, he says, died in 1168; and after whom he places in that see Moeliosa O'Connachtain, who assisted at the council of Kells under the title of bishop of East Connaught. By this title I do not know what bishop could be meant except one of either Roscommon or El-

plin, or of both together. If Moeliosa was then bishop of Roscommon, while the see of Elphin existed separately, as would appear from its having been governed by Flanachan as late as the year 1168, it will follow that the sees were not as yet united at the time of the synod of Kells. But, if Elphin was still not united with Roscommon, how can we account for its not being mentioned in the aforesaid lists? In this supposition it may be conjectured, that Ware was mistaken as to Flanachan O'Dubhai, whose name I do not meet with elsewhere; but, admitting that the sees were then united, it may be said, that Moeliosa was only a coadjutor bishop to him, while holding the united dioceses, which might justly go under the name of East Connaught. Thus, allowing that there was such a bishop as Flanachan, and that he lived until 1168, we can easily understand, how after his death Moeliosa became full bishop of Elphin, that is, of Elphin and Roscommon together, and why the name of Elphin does not appear in the lists, being comprized under that of Roscommon. Ware was, I believe right (*Antiq. cap. 16.* and *Bishops at Clonmacnois*) in giving the name of Clonmacnois to the see called *Cinani* by Cencius Camerarius. In after times it was wrested from the jurisdiction of Tuam, and placed under that of Armagh. Dromore is not mentioned in the list; perhaps it was then comprized under the diocese of Armagh, or rather Down. (*Not. 13. to Chap. xxxii.*)

(107) John of Hagulstad, quoted by Pagi, (*Crítica Sc. ad A. 1151.*) alludes to something done by Paparo in the synod with regard to the matrimonial contract, and is followed by Fleury, *Hist. Eccl. L. 69. §. 62.* Concerning this point I do not find a word in our Irish documents. If any thing took place relatively to it, it was undoubtedly no other than an endeavour to establish the *Sponsalia de praesenti* instead of those *de futuro*, of which enough has been said already. (See *Chap. xxvi. §. 6.* and *ib. Not. 52 and 66.*)

(108) In spite of the clear account, that remains of the proceeding of the council of Kells, and the total silence of old writers concerning doctrinal matters being discussed in it, Ledwich had the effrontery to say, (*Antiq. Sc. 444.*) that “the great objects of Paparo’s legation were to extinguish our ancient doctrines and discipline,” &c. Was the condemnation of simony and usury an extinction of Irish doctrines? What had the proposal of tithes

to do with doctrines; or would Ledwich have wished, that the discipline, according to which they were not paid, had been upheld? The giving of palliums is not a point of faith or doctrine. Then he tells us, that one of the objects was to new-model our hierarchy, and above all, lay the foundation of a revenue, for which purpose, he says, the number of Irish sees was reduced. But, if it was intended to raise a revenue for Rome, as he meant, surely the number ought rather to have been augmented. How was the revenue to be raised by our sees? Ledwich supposed by the annates paid on the granting of bulls, and says, that the four palls bestowed on the metropolitans together with the bulls for the other bishops brought a large sum into the Cardinal's coffers. This is not only a barefaced falsehood, but a proof of this malignant scribbler's profound ignorance, whereas in those times annates were not paid to Rome for bulls on the collation of bishoprics; nor did they even begin to be paid any where for, at least, 150 years later. And, even did that practice exist in Paparo's days, what bulls had he to give to bishops? There were no new bishops appointed at the council of Kells, and every one knows, that bulls are issued only for newly appointed ones, and that annates or First fruits are charged merely on new incumbents.

(109) The Annals of Cluain-eidneach *ap.* Keating have; "*Qui etiam Cardinalis protinus post peractum concilium iter arripuit, et nono calendas Aprilis transfretavit.*" Ware in his tract, *Archiepiscopi Cassiliensis*, had thought, that the year of Paparo's departure was 1153. In that supposition the synod should have been held in said year, which was not the case, as has been proved above, *Not.* 97. He was deceived by a passage of John of Hagulstad, but afterwards changed his opinion. That writer, treating of Paparo's arrival in Ireland, &c. gives the whole of the proceedings under *A.* 1152; but Pagi remarks, (*Critica, &c. ad A.* 1151) that the *A.* 1152 marked by him for Paparo's arrival was in reality 1151. Now, as Paparo did not reach Ireland until a late time of the year, and as John of Hagulstad speaks of Paparo's travelling, on his return, through Scotland after Easter, Ware had been led to think, that he did not leave Ireland until 1153. It is thus also that Fleury was led astray, who says, (*L.* 69. §. 62.) that Paparo left Ireland in 1153, adding that he did so after Easter. Here again he is mistaken; for, as Paparo sailed

from Ireland on the 24th of March, he consequently left it before Easter, which in 1152 fell on the 30th of that month. What John of Hagulstad says is to be understood of Paparo's travelling through Scotland after Easter on his way to Rome, although he was before it out of Ireland.

(110) In the Annals of Cluain-eidneach *ap.* Keating, as quoted by Colgan, (*AA. SS. p.* 776. and elsewhere) we read; "*Pridie nonas Martii haec synodus absoluta fuit.*" Thus the synod would have ended on the sixth of March. There must be a mistake in this reading; for, as it began on the 9th, (see *Not.* 97) how could it have terminate on the 6th? Accordingly Colgan conjectured, (*ib.*) that, instead of *pridie nonas*, we ought to read *pridie idus*, which would bring its termination to the 14th, thus allowing six days for its sitting, a time fully sufficient for its proceedings. Dr. O'Connor introduces a different correction, and maintains that, while *pridie nonas* should be retained, *coepta* ought to be read instead of *absoluta*, and quotes, as we have seen (*Not.* 97.) a passage to this purpose from Flannan Mac-Eogan. But in this hypothesis the synod would have begun on the sixth of March, three days prior to that marked in the above-mentioned Annals; and it cannot be supposed, that these Annals would have assigned two different days for its commencement. The passage in question is at the end of the account of what took place in the council, and is naturally relative rather to the ending than to the beginning of it, the date for which is given at the head of said account. Add, that, in Dr. O'Connor's supposition, the Annals would make no mention of the day, on which the synod was concluded, which, considering the precision with which they treat of it, would be very odd and can scarcely be admitted. It might seem from Paparo's not having crossed the sea until the 21th of March, that the synod sat even later than the 14th, the day supposed by Colgan, whereas it is stated that he set out immediately after it was over. But it will be allowed, that he did not leave Kelis until the following day, that is, the 15th in Colgan's system; and while proceeding for a port whence to sail for Scotland, he might have travelled slowly, and, when arrived there, might have been detained waiting for a passage.

(111) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Leighlin.*

(112) *Tr. Th. p.* 308.

(113) See Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Killalla*. Maelfogamair was called bishop of Tir-amalgaid (Tirawly) and Hua-Fiachra (Tireragh). It was very usual in these times to denominate our bishops from the districts comprized in their dioceses. Harris places one Kellach as bishop of Killala between St. Muredach and Maelfogamair, who, he says, was bishop there in the reign of Tuathal, who was king of Ireland from A. 534 to 544. This cannot be right; for St. Muredach himself was not bishop of Killala until after that time. (See *Chap. XII. §. 1.*) Harris refers to Colgan's *AA. SS. p. 248*. But Colgan, although he calls Kellach a bishop, does not tell us when or where he was such.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Macarius superior of the Irish monastery at Wurtzburg—Church of Egidius at Nuremberg given for the use of the Irish—Pope Adrian IV. a scholar of Marianus, a monk of the Irish house at Ratisbon—An Establishment formed for the Irish at Vienna—The Irish houses of Wurtzburg, Nuremberg, Vienna, Ratisbon, &c. in course of time usurped by the Scotch—King Henry II. of England applies to the Pope for permission to take possession of Ireland—The Pope draws up a Bull making over to Henry the entire possession of that island—Synod at Mellifont and consecration of the church there—Great offerings made to God and the monks of Mellifont by several Irish princes, and by the wife of Tiernan O' Ruaire—Synod of Brigh-mac-Thaidhg—Derry raised to the rank of a regular episcopal see—Deaths of several bishops—St. Laurence, or rather Lorcan, O'Toole, consecrated archbishop of Dublin—Synod of Clane—Decree that no one should be a professor of theology in any church in Ireland who had not previously studied for some

time at Armagh—The canons of Christ-church from being secular canons become canons regular of the congregation of Aroasia—A cathedral erected at Derry—War between Murtogh Mac-Loughlin king of Ireland, and Eochad king of Ulidia—Battle of Litterluin and death of Murtogh—Burning of Armagh, and of several churches—Roderic king of Connaght, aided by several other Irish princes, depose Dermod Mac Murchard king of Leinster, who had seduced Dervorgal, the wife of Tiernan O'Ruairc—Religious houses founded by Dermod—Roderic O'Connor acknowledged king of all Ireland—Convention at Athlone—Dermod Mac-Morogh applies to Henry II. king of England for assistance to recover his kingdom—Enters into negotiations with Strongbow and others—Landing of the first of the Anglo-Saxons in Ireland, who are immediately joined by Dermod—Roderic O'Connor raises a great army to oppose them—War between Donald O'Brien king of Limerick and O'Connor—Donald assisted by the English—Landing of a fresh body of English—Landing of Strongbow—Waterford taken—Eva, daughter of Dermod, married to Strongbow—Dublin taken by Dermod and Strongbow—They march into Meath and Breffny—Synod of the Irish clergy at Armagh, who unanimously declare that the misfortunes now fallen on the Irish people was a judgment from God, for their purchasing from the English some of their children as slaves—Liberation of all the English slaves throughout Ireland—English who had gone into Ireland ordered to return by Henry II.—But afterwards permitted to remain—Death of Dermod Mac-Morogh—Dublin besieged by Roderic king of Ireland—The siege raised and the Irish army dispersed.

SECT. I.

MACARIUS, superior of the Irish monastery of Wurtzburgh, (1) died on a 19th of December some year before 1152. (2) He is said to have written an elegant work on the praise of martyrs. (3) Macarius was succeeded by Gregory, and he by Carus, who became chaplain to king Conrad (the third) and queen Gertrude, who gave him the church of St. Egidius at Nuremberg for the use of the Irish. After Carus, Declan, abbot of St. Egidius of Nuremberg, was appointed chaplain to the said king and queen, and after the death of Conrad, (which occurred early in 1152) was continued as such to his successor Frederic Barbarossa. Declan erected a noble church at Nuremberg, and formed a monastery there for his Irish countrymen. (4) If we are to follow certain accounts, (5) it was about the year 1152, or somewhat later, that Gilla Criost, or Christian Mac-Carthy, the second abbot of St. James' of Ratisbon, went over to Ireland to collect money for the support of the monastery. Their great benefactor Conor O'Brian was then dead, having departed this life, as we have seen, (6) in the year 1142. The funds, with which he had supplied them, being exhausted, Christian found it necessary to apply for relief to his Irish friends. He was very well received and generously treated by a Munster king or prince, and by several chieftains, so that he acquired a great deal of money. When preparing to return to Germany, he was taken ill and died in Ireland, and was honourably buried before the altar of St. Patrick in the metropolitan church of Cashel. (7) Christian had received into his community, which is said to have been then of the Benedictine order, an Irishman of great merit, named Gregory, who had been a Canon Regular of St. Augustin. This Gregory, who seems to have been different from the

one that succeeded Macarius at Wurtzburg, was appointed successor to Christian, and was the third abbot of St. James' of Ratisbon. It is related, that he went to Rome to be consecrated, that is, to be invested with the abbacy, by Pope Adrian IV. (8) His journey to Rome could not have taken place before 1155, whereas Adrian's pontificate began on the 3d of December, 1154. Among other subjects of conversation the Pope inquired of him concerning Marianus, who was then a monk of the Irish house of Ratisbon, and who had taught the liberal arts at Paris, where he had among his scholars Nicholas Breckspere, afterwards Adrian IV. The Pope was very glad to hear that his old master was well, and spoke of him in the highest terms of commendation (9)

(1) See *Chap. xxvi. §. 4.*

(2) Bollandists at *Life of Marianus of Ratisbon, 9th Feb.*

(3) *Ib.* They quote Eysengrein, who states, that Macarius wrote *De laude martyrum elegans volumen.*

(4) *Life of Marianus, cap. 5.*

(5) I allude to the Extracts from a chronicle of the Irish monks of Ratisbon, of which above *Not. 36. to Chap. xxvi.* Lynch (*loc. cit. ib.*) justly complains, that said chronicle is full of anachronisms.

(6) *Chap. xxvii. §. 6.*

(7) In the said chronicle we read; "Christianus, abbas monasterii Scotorum S. Jacobi Ratisbonae, vir nobilis ex stirpe primariae familiae Mac-Carthy in Hibernia, jam exhaustis thesauris olim Ratisbonae submissis a rege Hiberniae, videns suos inopia laborare humani subsidii, rogatu fratrum suorum, ut novum repeteret levamen egestatis, concessit in patriam suam Hiberniam, ut a rege ejusdem christianissimo ac devoto *Donato O'Brian* (jam enim vita functus erat fundator Consecrati Petri et monasterii S. Jacobi Scotorum rex Conchor O'Brian) et ab aliis Hiberniae magnatibus impetraret eleemosynas. Quem rex *Donatus*, cum regina uxore, et principibus Hiberniae, feliciter expeditis suis negotiis, reditum in Germaniam parantem oneravit ingentibus thesauris. Sed Chris-

tianus in Hibernia spiritum Deo reddidit, et honorifice sepultus est ante altare S. Patricii Ecclesiae metropolitanae Casselensis." There is a mistake in the name *Donatus O'Brian*; for at the time that Christian came to Ireland there was no king of that name in this country. Lynch thought (*loc. cit.*) that, instead of *Donatus O'Brian*, the prince alluded to was either Donat Mac-Carthy of Desmond, or Turlogh O'Brian king of North Munster, who reigned from 1142 to 1164 or 1167. To me it seems more probable, that the prince meant was this Turlogh, whereas Cashel, where Christian was buried, and where it may be supposed that he died, belonged to Turlogh's kingdom. Turlogh was succeeded by Domnald or Donald O'Brian, who was a very pious prince and celebrated for his foundations of churches and religious houses. Owing to his great reputation as a benefactor to monasteries, it may be fairly conjectured, that the unchronological compiler of that chronicle confounded him with Turlogh O'Brian, latinizing at the same time his name *Domnald* into *Donatus*. From the Life of Marianus (*cap.* 4.) it would seem as if Christian, having collected the money, returned to Ratisbon and laid it out in purchasing lands for the monastery. Yet it states, (*cap.* 6.) that he died in Ireland.

(8) After the passage just quoted the said chronicle continues; "Vir magnae virutis genere Hibernus, nomine Gregorius ex ordine Regularium canonicorum S. Augustini, impetravit a Christiano admitti in ordinem St. Benedicti, qui Christiano extincto, apud Jacobi Ratisbonae in abbatis munere suffectus Romam ab Adriano Papa consecrandus petiit." That this Gregory was not the same as the one, who had governed the Irish monastery of Wurtzburg, seems clear from its being stated, that Gregory of Wurtzburg was succeeded by Carus. Therefore, if he died, as may reasonably be supposed, before Carus got that appointment, he must have been different from the Gregory, who succeeded Christian at Ratisbon, and who went to Rome in Pope Adrian's time. For Carus himself was dead some years before the pontificate of Adrian, as appears from his successor Declan having been chaplain to king Conrad, who died in 1152.

(9) *Ib.* This Marianus must not be confounded with the Marianus one of the founders of the original Irish monastery of Ratisbon. See *Chap.* xxv. §. 2.

§. II. When Gregory returned to Ratisbon, he was urged by his monks to go to Ireland for the purpose of receiving the money, which had been collected by Christian, and which was deposited with the archbishop of Cashel. He went thither and, besides the deposit, got still more money from divers noblemen, all which he brought to Ratisbon, and expended on the purchase of lands, &c. and on erecting a new magnificent monastery of hewn stone, having thrown down the old one that was in a ruinous state. (10) Under Gregory's government a new establishment was formed for the Irish at Vienna, Henry, duke of Austria, having given to him a monastery there, called of St. Mary and St. George, over which Gregory placed Sanctinus together with 24 brethren. This was after the 15th year reckoned from the time, in which Macarius was appointed superior of the house of Wurtzburg. (11) Meanwhile Walbrun, provost of the church of Eichstad, made over to Gregory a church called the *Lord's sepulchre*, which he had built in the suburbs of Ratisbon, together with lands, for the use of the Irish monks. (12) From what has been said of these establishments it is evident, that those of Wurtzburg, Nuremberg, Vienna, and others, including the old one of St. Peter's near Ratisbon, were all subordinate to that of St. James, and that they were, without exception, purely Irish, (13) except that, it seems, Scotchmen were occasionally admitted into them, whose countrymen afterwards in course of time, when the Irish gave up the name of Scots, obtained, under the usual trick of applying to themselves what belonged to the ancient and original Scots, exclusive possession of them, and went so far as to prevent Irishmen even from being received into them.

(10) *Ib.* In this narrative the aforesaid chronicle intermixes some of its anachronisms, such as making Gregory bring letters

to a king Murcertach O'Brian from the German king Conrad. But there was no king Murcertach or Murtogh O'Brian in Gregory's time; and Conrad was dead before Gregory, who had already visited Adrian IV. could have set out for Ireland.

(11) See the Life of Marianus, (*cap.* 6.) and the observations of the Bollandists at 9 February. The precise year of Macarius' appointment to Wurtzburg is not known; (see *Not.* 38. to *Chap.* xxvi.) but it could not have been prior to about 1140, whereas Gregory, during whose incumbency the monastery of Vienna was founded, did not become abbot of that of Ratisbon until about 15 years after that date.

(12) *Ib.*

(13) See *Not.* 12. to *Chap.* xxiv. The Bollandists (*loc. cit. ib.*) observe that none but Scots, that is, principally Irish, were received into the monasteries, called *Monasteria Scotorum*, in Germany; "*In his porro coenobiis solummodo Scoti inhabitabant et nulli alii, uti vel sancit vel testatur Fredericus II. imperator in diplomate an. D. 1212.*"

§. III. Although Adrian IV. had such a regard for his old master Marianus, he was then concerned in hatching a plot against that good man's country, and in laying the foundation of the destruction of the independence of Ireland. Henry II., who became king of England about the same time that Adrian was placed on the chair of St. Peter, on being informed of his promotion wrote to him a complimentary letter of congratulation, and having thus opened the way for obtaining favours, applied to him in the year 1115 (14) by means of John of Salisbury then chaplain to Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, for a really important one. John, addressing the Pope in the king's name, asked him for permission for his master to take possession of Ireland for the purpose of extending the boundaries of the Church, of announcing to unlearned and rude people the truth of the Christian faith, and extirpating the weeds of vices from the field of the Lord. (15) What an apostolical and exemplary sovereign was

Henry Plantagenet ! It is strange, that the Pope could have listened to such stuff, while he knew, that palliums had been sent, only three or four years before that time, to Ireland by his patron and benefactor, the good Pope Eugenius III. and must have been informed by Cardinal Paparo, who was, as St. Bernard states, a very worthy man, that many good regulations had been made ; that there were excellent bishops in this country, such as Gelasius of Armagh and Christian of Lismore ; and that the Irish church was not then in so degenerate a state as to require the intervention or the pious exertions of such a king as Henry. But the love of his country (England), (16) his wish to gratify Henry, and some other not very becoming reasons prevailed over every other consideration, and the condescending Pope with great cheerfulness and alacrity took upon himself to make over to Henry all Ireland, and got a letter or Bull drawn up to that effect, and directed to him, in which, among other queer things, he wishes him success in his undertaking, and expresses a hope, that it will conduce not only to his glory in this world but likewise to his eternal happiness in the next. He founds his right for making this grant on the notable principle, that Ireland and all the islands, which have received the Christian faith, undoubtedly belong to St. Peter and the holy Roman church. (17) Adrian requires of Henry to preserve the rights of the churches inviolate, and that, as he had promised to do, he would take care that a *denarius* should be annually paid from every house to St. Peter. (18) He sent to him, by John of Salisbury, a gold ring, adorned with a valuable emerald, as a token of investiture of his right to govern Ireland ; which ring, it was ordered, should be kept in the public archives. (19)

(14) Matthew Paris and others, who are followed by Usher, (*Sylloge* at Adrian's Bull, No. 46.) assign this transaction to A.

1155; and Pagi (*Critica, &c. ad A. 1159*) observes, that the date, marked by Matthew Paris, is the true one. Fleury (*L. 70. §. 16.*) has it under 1156.

(15) These hypocritical reasons are given in the very beginning of the hopeful Bull of Adrian IV. “*Laudabiliter et satis fructuose de glorioso nomine propagando in terris, et aeternae felicitatis praemio cumulando in caelis, tua magnificentia cogitat; dum ad dilatandos Ecclesiae terminos ad declarandam in doctis et rudibus populis Christianae fidei veritatem, et vitiorum plantaria de agro Dominico extirpanda, sicut Catholicus princeps, intendis; et ad id convenientius exequendum consilium Apostolicae sedis exigis ad favorem.*” The entire Bull may be seen in the Appendix.

(16) This reason was assigned by Cardinal Pole in a speech, which he delivered in 1554, and in which, as quoted by Usher, (*Sylloge, Not. to Adrian’s Bull*) he said “Pope Adrian IV. by nation an Englishman, *induced by the love of his country*, granted the dominion of Ireland to Henry II. king of England. This had been observed long before by Donald O’Neill and the Irish chieftains in their letter to Pope John XXII. in which they state, that Adrian had been blinded by his affection for England, *Anglicana affectione.*”

(17) “*Sane Hiberniam et omnes insulas, quibus sol justitiae Christus illuxit, et quae documenta fidei Christianae ceperunt, ad jus beati Petri et sacro-sanctae Romanae ecclesiae (quod tua etiam nobilitas recognoscit) non est dubium pertinere.*” By the words in the parenthesis the Pope probably meant to hint to Henry, that also his kingdom of England, as being in an island, belonged to the Holy see; and we find, that in the year 1173 Henry declared himself a vassal of Pope Alexander III. This nonsense of the Pope’s being the head owner of all Christian islands had been partially announced to the world in a bull of Urban II. dated *A. 1091*, in which, on disposing of the island of Corsica, he said that the emperor Constantine had given the islands to St. Peter and his vicars. (See Fleury, *L. 64. §. 8.*) But Constantine could nor give what did not belong to him, and accordingly, as Keating argues (*Book 2. p. 3.*) could not have transferred the sovereignty of Ireland to any Pope. Adrian IV. without mentioning Constantine, laid down a much larger plea, comprizing all islands, whether

they had formed parts of the Roman empire or not. From his not appealing to any other right of his over Ireland we see, how unfounded is the story which some writers have, of the Irish nobility having conferred the sovereignty of all their country on Urban II. in the year 1092. Keating has this fable (*ib.* p. 113.) and places the transaction in the time of Donogh O'Brian king of Munster, attributing it to their hatred of Donogh. Yet elsewhere (*ib.* p. 3.) he says, that the offer of surrendering Ireland to the Pope was made by Donogh himself. I have already observed, (*Not.* 91. to *Chap.* xxiv.) that Donogh could not have been empowered to make such an offer, and that he must have been dead long before the time, to which Keating assigned it. Then how absurd is it to introduce, as stated in the other story, the Irish nobility making over the whole island to Urban II. in 1092, because they hated Donogh and refused to pay him obedience? For Donogh had fled from Ireland to Rome in 1064, whence he never returned; and in 1092 the king not only of Munster but of other parts of Ireland, and who has been called king of Ireland, was Murtoth O'Brian. And supposing even that Donogh was then living in Ireland, why should the Irish nobility at large have made either then or at any time such an offer to Rome? For Donogh was never king of all Ireland, and in the end was king only of Munster; and consequently the nobility of the greatest part of Ireland had nothing to do with paying or refusing obedience to him. Or will it be supposed, that during the vigorous reign of the powerful king Murtoth the nobility of Ireland would have dared to transfer his kingdom to the Pope? Neither in any of the Irish annals nor in the ecclesiastical documents of those times, whether Roman or Irish, is there a trace to be found of a transfer of Ireland to Urban II. or to any Pope of that or a preceding period by either Irish kings or Irish nobility, although the sly Italian Polydore Virgil, who has been followed by two Englishmen, Campion and Sanders, and also by some Irish writers, has told some big lies on this subject. In the letters of Lanfranc and Anselm, both Apostolic legates, to the kings Turloagh and Murtoth O'Brian, there is not the least allusion to any temporal power claimed or at all exercised by the Pope in Ireland; while, on the contrary, these kings are addressed by them in the most respectful manner indicating, that they considered them in the light of

sovereigns as independent as any in the universe. Nor is there a vestige of that pretended right in the accounts, that we have of the proceedings of Cardinal Paparo. But what sets the matter quite at rest is, that, if the Popes enjoyed the paramount dominion of Ireland, Adrian IV. would undoubtedly have alleged it as the foundation of his title to the granting of Ireland to Henry II. an argument, which, if it could be adduced, would have been infinitely preferable to that of the ownership of islands in general. I am therefore astonished, that Dr. O'Connor could have undertaken (*Columbanus' Second Letter*) the defence of the absurd story related by Keating, and headed his §. XII. with declaring it not fabulous. He admits, that Keating's chronology is wrong; but yet he does not prove a single part of the narrative, except what did not require to be proved, *viz.* that Donogh O'Brian fled to Rome, for which he refers to Tigernach and the Annals of Innisfallen, Ulster, and the 4 Masters. By the bye I think he was mistaken in assigning Donogh's flight to A. D. 1047. (See *Not.* 91. to *Chap.* xxiv.) But would it follow from Donogh's going to Rome, that the Irish nobility made over Ireland to the Pope, which is the main point of Keating's fable, that wanted defence? Would it not rather seem, that, having got rid of Donogh, such of the Irish nobility as did not like to obey him, *viz.* that of Munster alone, had no occasion whatsoever to apply to Rome? And that they did not is as clear as daylight from the fact, that after his flight Turlogh O'Brian, his nephew, was immediately, and without waiting for news from Rome, proclaimed king of Munster. (See *Chap.* xxii. §. 11.) Of what use was it for Dr. O'Connor to refer to Gregory the Seventh's letter to the same Turlogh, when king of Ireland, and to that Pope's insinuating a claim upon his kingdom? For surely Turlogh was not such a fool as to give it up to him. (See *ib.* §. 14.) Dr. O'Connor seems to reduce the substance of his whole argumentation to these words at *p.* 73. "What I state is, that Keating gives the tradition and the opinion of the great mass of the common Irish of his time." Be it so; but something more than the opinion of the common Irish of Keating's time would be requisite to prove, that either the Irish nobility or any Irish king had transferred the chief sovereignty of Ireland to Urban II. or to any other Pope of those days. What Keating adds about this pretended authority having been exercised in Ireland

from the year 1092 down to the time of Adrian IV. is so contrary to the Irish history of that period, that it is not worth the honour of refutation. Who were the Roman viceroys or governors acting for the Popes? Is it because Cardinal Paparo brought palliums in 1151, and that he presided over a synod in 1152? What had such things to do with a temporal dominion over Ireland? As well might it be said, that the Popes were at that time sovereigns of every part of the Christian world, to which they used to send legates.

How then did these fables originate? They were not even thought of until a considerable time after the Anglo-Norman settlers and undertakers had spread themselves throughout Ireland. The Irish knew nothing about them as late as the year 1316, in which Donald O'Neill, prince of Ulster, and several chieftains, &c. wrote their letter of complaint and remonstrance to Pope John XXII. against the tyranny and cruelties of the English. This letter may be seen in M^rGeoghegan's *Histoire d'Irlande*, Tom. 2. p. 106. *sqq.* It is strange, that he makes this letter be written during the reign of Edward III. of England; for it is certain, that it was in the reign of Edward II. as is clear from its having been written, while Edward Bruce and the Scots were in Ireland, and from the circumstance that the letter or brief addressed, in consequence of it, by that Pope to the king of England, was written in 1319, and therefore to Edward II. some years before the accession of Edward III. On the other hand it could not have been directed to said pope prior to 1316, that being the first year of his pontificate. To return to our subject, the Irish state in their letter, that from the conversion of the nation by St. Patrick, and their coming under the spiritual obedience of the Roman church, until the year 1170 they had sixty-one kings, who acknowledged no superior in temporals, *nullum in temporalibus recognoscentes superiorem*. They say, that Adrian acted unjustly without any respect for law or justice, *indebite, ordine juris omisso omnino*. Hence it is plain, that they had no idea whatsoever of any former grant made of Ireland to Urban II. or to any Pope. In later times it probably occurred to some of the Irish that, whereas their enemies used to allege, in favour of their system of plunder and extermination, the grant made by Adrian IV. and confirmed by Alexander III., it would not be a bad plan to admit, that said

Popes had some sort of right to have acted as they did ; for in that supposition, if two Popes had made over Ireland to the English, other Popes would be equally authorized to turn them out again ; and it gradually began to be believed, that the Popes enjoyed a paramount jurisdiction over the country. But then a question arose, how the Popes had acquired it. Some observed that, as Donogh O'Brian had gone to Rome, the transfer of dominion might have been made by him or by the nobility hostile to him. Next it was found, that Urban II. had asserted about 1092 a claim to dominion over islands, and this was considered a very convenient date for the grant of the sovereignty of Ireland to the Holy see. Thus those stories were patched up in spite of chronology or of any authority whatsoever ; and Keating swallowed them as he did many others.

(18) “*Jure nimirum ecclesiarum illibato et integro permanente, et salva beato Petro et sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae de singulis domibus annua unius denarii pensione.*” I need not tell the reader, that this charge of a *denarius*, vulgarly called a *penny*, was in imitation of the Peterpence, which used for centuries to be paid by England. As to its origin there and to the then value of the *denarius* it is not my business to inquire. Let it suffice to say, that it was worth a good deal more than our present penny.

(19) John writes (*Metalog. L. 4. cap. ult.*) ; “*Annulum quoque per me transmisit (Adrianus) aureum, smaragdo optimo decoratum, quo fieret investitura juris in gerenda Hibernia ; idemque adhuc annulus in curiali archæo publico custodiri jussus est.*”

§. iv. Adrian's bull is of so unwarrantable and unjustifiable a nature, that some writers could not bring themselves to believe that he issued it, and have endeavoured to prove it a forgery ; but their efforts were of no avail, and never did there exist a more real or authentic document. (20) It was, however, kept secret until a convenient time should occur for taking advantage of it. (21) Had any knowledge of it transpired in Ireland, it would undoubtedly have been mentioned in the synods, that were held not long after it was issued, and particularly in the great one at Mellifont of the year 1157. This synod

was convoked for the purpose of consecrating the church of Mellifont, (22) and was attended by the primate Gelasius, Christian bishop of Lismore and Apostolic legate, 17 other bishops, and innumerable clergymen of inferior ranks. There were present also Murchertach or Murtoth O'Loughlin, king of Ireland, O'Eochadha, prince of Ulidia, Tiernan O'Ruaire, prince of Breffny, and O'Kerbhaill or Carrol, prince of Ergall or Oriel. After the consecration of the church Donogh O'Melaghlin, prince of Meath, was excommunicated by the clergy, and deprived of his principality by the king and the other princes, his brother Dermot being substituted in his stead. (23) On this occasion the king gave as an offering for his soul to God and the monks of Mellifont 140 oxen or cows, 60 ounces of gold, and a town-land, called *Finnavair-na-ningen*, near Drogheda. O'Kerbhaill gave also 60 ounces of gold, and as many more were presented by the wife of Tiernan O'Ruaire, who was a daughter of the prince of Meath, that is, a former prince Murchad. She likewise gave a golden chalice for the high altar, and sacred vestments, &c. for each of the nine others, that were in the church. This was the second year of Murtoth O'Loughlin being considered as king of Ireland, whereas he succeeded Turloagh O'Conor, who died in 1156, (24) and was buried in the church of Clonmacnois near the altar of St. Kieran, after having distinguished himself by pious donations. Murtoth's reign continued until 1166. (25)

(20) Gratianus Lucius (Lynch) greatly exerted himself (*Cambr. Evers. cap. 22.*) in striving to show, that the Bull is spurious, and Mac-Geoghegan would fain make us believe the same thing. It has not indeed been published in the *Bullarium Romanum*, the editors of which were ashamed of it. But there was a copy of it in the Vatican library, as is clear from its being referred to by Pope John XXII. in his Brief to Edward II. of England, written in 1319, which Brief is in the *Bullarium*, and may be seen in Wilkins'

Councils, Vol. 2. p. 491. in Brodin's *Descriptio regni Hiberniae* printed at Rome in 1721, and in Mac-Geoghegan's *Histoire*, &c. Tom. 2. p. 116. In said Brief the Pope not only refers to Adrian's Bull or letter by name, but says that he joins to the Brief a copy of it for the use of the king. And Baronius, who has published the Bull in his *Annales*, &c. at A. 1159, (not because he thought it was issued in that year) tells us, that he took his copy of it from a *codex Vaticanus*. Then we have the testimony of the very intriguer employed in procuring this Bull, John of Salisbury, who just before the words quoted (*Not prec.*) has; "Ad preces meas illustri regi Anglorum Henrico II. concessit (Adrianus) et dedi-Hiberniam jure haereditario possidendam, *sicut literae ipsius testantur in hodiernum diem*. Nam omnes insulae de jure antiquo, ex donatione Constantini quæ eam fundavit et dotavit, dicuntur ad Romanam ecclesiam pertinere. Annulum quoque," &c. Lynch, having seen this passage, thought that it was supposed to be taken from the *Polycraticus* of John of Salisbury, and then argues, that it is not in the genuine *Polycraticus*. But he ought to have known, that it was quoted not from the *Polycraticus*, but from another of John's works entitled *Metalogicus*. Adrian's grant of Ireland to Henry is expressly mentioned and confirmed by Pope Alexander III. in his letter to him of the year 1172. Giraldus Cambrensis, (*De rebus a segestis*, Part 2. cap. 11. and *Hiberni expugn.* L. 2. c. 6.) Matthew Paris (*Historia major*, &c. ad A. 1155.) and others give not only an account of said Bull, but the Bull itself; and Usher states, (*Sylloge*, not. on No. 46.) that he saw copies of it in the registers of the dioceses of Dublin and Lismore. What has been now said is surely more than enough to set aside the doubts of Lynch or of any other writer.

(21) Keating has (*Book 2. p. 113*) an unfounded story about Henry II. having, on receiving the Bull, sent John of Salisbury with it to Ireland, and his having read it before the bishops and principal clergy assembled at Waterford. I am sure that he took this fable from Stanihurst's third book *De rebus Hibernicis*, where it is to be found in consequence of his having followed a corrupt copy of the *Hibernia expugnata* of Giraldus Cambrensis. Stanihurst has been corrected by his own nephew Usher, (*Sylloge*, Not. on No. 47.) from whose quotation of Giraldus' genuine text it appears, that Adrian's Bull was not read at Waterford until after

Henry had received also the confirmatory letter or brief of Alexander III. and had returned from Ireland. The reason, for which Henry deferred his expedition to Ireland is stated by Nicholas Trivet (at *A.* 1155.) to have been that, when Henry discussed with his nobles at Winchester the project of conquering Ireland, his mother opposed it. (See Usher, *ib. Not.* at *No.* 46.)

(22) There is an account of it from the 4 Masters (at *A.* 1157.) in *Tr. Th.* p. 309. and *AA. SS.* p. 655 and 776. It is mentioned at the same year in the Annals of Mary's abbey. The 4 Masters say, that it was held in the monastery of Drogheda, meaning, as Colgan observes, Mellifont, which is near that town. I do not find this synod marked in the Annals of Innisfallen, and I suspect that it has been confounded with that of Kells. Hence, perhaps, we may discover, why these Annals have placed the synod of Kells at Drogheda. (Compare with *Not.* 96. to *Chap.* xxvii.) Harris has (*Archbishops of Armagh at Gelasius*) a droll thought, as if the synod of Mellifont might have been a continuation by adjournment of the one of Kells, in the same manner as the council of Trent was adjourned different times. Pray, what was the multiplicity of business proposed at the synod of Kells, that could require adjournments? We have seen, that the few days, during which it sat, were fully sufficient for transacting all that it had to do, which was not a two hundredth part of the matters discussed in the council of Trent. Besides, it is positively stated, that this synod or assembly was held for the mere object of consecrating a church; and in fact very little more seems to have been done by it.

(23) Harris quotes (*ib.*) from certain anonymous annals, as the cause of the sentence passed against Donogh, "that the cursed atheist was excommunicated from the Church for dishonouring the Comorb (*i. e.* the primate), the staff of Jesus, and all the clergy."

(24) See *Chap.* xxvi. §. 1.

(25) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 4. Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 449. &c. &c.

§. v. Another synod was held in 1158 at a place in Meath called *Brigh-Thaig* or *Brigh-mac-Thaidhg*, at which Gelasius and Christian were present, besides several other bishops, consisting in all of 25 or 26 prelates. (26) Many useful decrees, relative to

ecclesiastical discipline and morals, were enacted by it ; and, after the ordinary business was over, it resolved, that Derry should be raised to the rank of a regular episcopal see, and Flathbert O'Brolchan, abbot of its monastery, was appointed its bishop. (27) He was constituted also superintendent over all the abbeys of Ireland, which must be understood of those only of the Columbian order. (28) There were no Connaught bishops in this synod ; for such of them as had set out with the intention of assisting at it were, after having passed Clonmacnois, met and plundered by some satellites of Dermot O'Melaghlin, prince of Meath ; and, two men of their suite being killed, the bishops returned home. It seems, that they then held a synod of their own in Roscommon, in which some good regulations were made. (29) In the same year died a very respectable prelate, Donall or Donald O'Lonargan, archbishop of Cashel. (30) He had assisted at the council of Kells, and was succeeded by Donald O'Hullucan, who held the see until 1182. (31) The great church of Aghadoe in the now county of Kerry, was finished in said year, 1158, by Auliffe-mor, of the territory called Na-Cuimsionach, and son of Aongus O'Donoghue. (32) The history of the see of Aghadoe is exceedingly obscure ; and I am not able to determine, whether it existed or not at this time. It is probable, that it rose from the monastery of Innisfallen, but when I cannot tell. (33) The Cistercian monastery of Newry was apparently founded about this time and richly endowed by Murrough O'Loughlin or O'Laughlin, *alias* Mac-Laughlin, who in his charter or deed in favour of it calls himself king of *all* Ireland, a title which he could not have well assumed until the year 1156. (34) Another Cistercian house, called of *Kyrie Eleison*, had been established in 1154 at Odorney in the now county of Kerry, and supplied with monks from Magio or Nenay in the county of Limerick. (35) Two an-

chorets of Armagh, Abel and Gilla-Muredach are said to have died in 1159. (36) To this year is assigned the death of O'Dubery, bishop of Cloyne. (37) Fínn Mac-Kienan, bishop of Kildare, who had assisted at the council of Kells, died in 1160 at Killeigh in the now King's county, and was buried there. (38) At this year I find the death of Gilla-na-Naomh O'Duinn, chief professor of the monastery of Inisclothrann in Lough-ree, a celebrated historian, poet and orator. (39)

(26) See for this synod *Tr. Th.* p. 309. and *AA. SS.* p. 655 and 777.

(27) Compare with *Not.* 106. to *Chap.* xxvii.

(28) Surely it cannot be supposed, that Flathbert was placed over, for instance, the Cistercian abbeys. If we are to believe Keating, (*Book* 2. p. 103) Christian, bishop of Lismore, was then superior of all the monks of Ireland; but Colgan observes, (*AA. SS.* p. 654.) that this must be applied merely to the Cistercians, to whose order Christian had belonged. It must also be remarked, that Flathbert's jurisdiction could not have been intended as subversive of the rights of the abbot of Hy over the Irish Columbians.

(29) See Harris (*Bishops*, p. 59 and 467.) from the Annals of the Priory of All-saints at *A.* 1158.

(30) The Annals now mentioned, and those of Innisfallen at *A.* 1158. The former Annals, as quoted by Ware and Harris, (*Bishops* at his name) call him *Chief elder of Munster, a learned and liberal man, especially to the poor.*

(31) Ware and Harris, at *Archbishops of Cashel.*

(32) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1158.

(33) I do not find any mention of Aghadoe in Ware or Colgan. Harris speaks of it (*Bishops* at *Ardfert*) for the first time at *A.* 1588, as if united with Ardfert. It does not occur, as far as I can discover, in any old catalogue of the Irish sees. There was an old abbey at Aghadoe, in which Aodh O'Donoghue, a grandson of Auliffe-mor above mentioned, was buried in 1231. (Archdall at *Aghadoe.*) Smith says, (*History of Kerry*, p. 147.) that its cathedral was dedicated to St. Finnian. This was the St. Finnian,

surnamed the *leper*, who founded the monastery of Innisfallen. According to Smith (*ib. p. 67.*) the diocese of Aghadoe comprized the southern part of Kerry, while the northern part belonged to that of Ardfert. He adds, that in the Register's books there is no distinction between the parishes belonging to the respective sees.

(34) This deed is referred to by Ware, (*Antiq. cap. 26. at County of Down, Newry,*) and called a charter of foundation. It is entitled *Charta abbatiæ de Newry*, and may be seen in the *Monast. Anal. vol. 2. p. 1031.*) and in Dr. O'Coner's 2. *Proleg. to Rer. Hib. Script. p. 158.* In it the king says, that he has granted and confirmed to the monks serving God in Nyvorcintracta (Newry) the town-land O'Cormaic, where was founded the monastery Atherathin, and also those of Enaratha, Crumglean, Caselanagan, Lissinelle, Croa-Druimfornacta, &c. &c. together with their waters, woods, mills, &c. He then speaks of the abbey, as if he were the original founder of it, and states that he has taken the monks under his protection; "*Et quia ipsum monasterium Ybarcintracta* (another name for Newry) *mera mea voluntate collocavi, ipsos monachos, tamquam filios et domesticos fidei, sub protectione mea suscepi.*" Among the witnesses, whose names are signed to this charter, were Gilla-Mac-Liag (Gelasius) archbishop of Armagh; Aed O'Killedy, bishop of Ergall (Clogher); Muriach O'Coffay (Muredach O'Cobthaich), bishop of Tireheogain (Ardstraw, see *Not. 100. to Chap. xxvii.*); Melissa Mac In clerig-cuir, bishop of Ultonia (Ulidia or Down); and Gillacomida O'Caran, bishop of Tirconail (Raphoe). Then come the names of divers princes and nobles. If the monastery of Newry was founded at the same time that these grants were made, its foundation could not have been prior to 1156, unless it might be said, which it would be hard to suppose, that Mur-togh or Maurice O'Laughlin assumed the title of king of *all* Ireland before the death of Turlogh O'Conor. In the hypothesis of these endowments, and the foundation having taken place about one and the same time, we cannot admit the statement of the Annals of Mary's abbey, which assign the foundation to *A. 1153.* Ware had in his *Coenobia Cisterciensia*, published in 1626, affixed it to 1144; but afterwards, when treating of it in his *Antiquities*, (*loc. cit.*) he marks no date for it, and says, that it was

founded by Maurice Mac-Loghlin, king of Ireland; and at *Bishops of Raphoe* (*Gilbert O'Caran*) he assigns Maurice's charter to about 1160. A strong difficulty, however, occurs from its being said, that Finn Mac-Kienan, *alias* Mac-Tiarcain, bishop of Kildare, who had assisted at the council of Kells in 1152, (see Chap. xxvii. §. 14. and *ib.* Not.) had been abbot of the house of Newry *Tr. Th.* p. 630. where he is called son of Gorman, and Ware *Bishops of Kildare*, who makes him abbot of *Viride lignum*, that is, Newry. Now if Finn had been abbot there before he became a bishop, the abbey must have been founded before 1152, which would make it earlier than even the Annals of Mary's abbey have it. It is difficult to reconcile these statements. Might Finn, although bishop of Kildare, have been appointed to the government of the abbey of Newry after its foundation by Murtogh Mac Loghlin? It was not unusual for bishops to superintend monasteries. For instance St. Malachy, while bishop of Connor, was also abbot of Bangor. Or may we suppose, that Finn some time before his death resigned his see and withdrew to Newry? In either of these suppositions the monastery must have existed before 1160, that being the year, in which Finn died. Or, admitting that he was an abbot before he was raised to the episcopacy, might it be that he governed the monastery called *Atherathin*, which seems to have been prior to that of Newry, and of which the latter was perhaps a continuation. In this case it may be conjectured, that Finn was called abbot of Newry, inasmuch as the monks of Atherathin might have been removed to it. Be it as it may, and supposing that Finn had been an abbot some time or other, the foundation of the abbey of Newry cannot, I think, be placed earlier than about 1157.

(35) The date marked for Kyrie eleison in the Annals of Mary's abbey is *A.* 1154, and is followed by Ware (*Antiq. cap.* 26.), Harris, &c. Odorney is near the river Brick in the barony of Clanmaurice. I suppose it was on this account that Alemand attributed the foundation of this monastery to the Fitzmaurice family. Was he so ignorant as not to know, that there were no Fitzmaurices in Ireland in the year 1154?

(36) *Tr. Th.* p. 309.

(37) Ware, *Bishops at Cloyne*. Harris adds, that in the Annals of Innisfallen he is called *Dubrein*, abbot of *Cluainvana*.

(38) Ware, *ib.* at *Kildare*. See more above *Not.* 34. The Annals of Innisfallen have his death also at *A.* 1160.

(39) Said Annals *ib.* and also (*A.A. SS.* p. 52 and 200.) He died on the 17th of December.

§. VI. The death of several Irish prelates are marked at *A.* 1161. Among them was Gregory, the first archbishop of Dublin, who departed this life on the 8th of October, after a long incumbency of forty years. (40) He is represented as having been a prudent and learned man. Likewise the first archbishop of Tuam, Aedan O'Hoisin, who is much praised for his piety, learning, and liberality, died in this year, and was buried in his own cathedral under a monument inscribed with an Irish epitaph. He was immediately succeeded by Catholcus or Cadla O'Dubhai. (41) Next comes Teige or Thady O'Lonargan, bishop of Killaloe, a learned and charitable man. (42) Brendan the bishop of Kerry or Ardfert, who had attended at the council of Kells, died also in the same year on the 22d of September, and was buried at Ardfert. (43)

The see of Dublin being now vacant, several competitors started for it; but the electors fixed their eyes upon the holy abbot of Glendaloch, Laurence O'Toole, who for a long time resisted their proposal and wishes, but at length was forced to submit, and was consecrated archbishop in the cathedral of Dublin by Gelasius the primate, accompanied by many bishops. (44) This was in the year 1162. (45) The original name of this great and good man was *Lorcan*, (46) and he was of the illustrious house of the O'Tuathals, being the youngest son of Muriartach O'Tuathal, prince of Imaly, or Imaile, in the now county of Wicklow. (47) His mother was of the equally great family of the Hy-Brins, now usually called *Byrne*. (48) Lorcan or Laurence remained with his parents until he was about ten years old, when he was given as a hostage by his father to

the king Diermit. (49) This wicked king bore a great hatred to Muriartach, and sent the boy to a barren district, where he was treated with great cruelty. His father, on being apprized of it, seized upon twelve of Diermit's soldiers, and threatened to put them to death, unless his son was restored to him. Diermit alarmed at this menace, and knowing that Muriartach's territory was impregnable and could defy all his power, thought it adviseable to dismiss Laurence, and sent him not to his father, but to the bishop of Glendaloch under the condition of getting back his twelve soldiers. The good bishop kept Laurence with himself for 12 days, placing him under the care of his chaplain, who treated him very kindly, and instructed him in the principles of the Christian doctrine. Laurence, who was at that time 12 years old, then returned to his father's residence. (50)

(40) Ware, *ib.* at Dublin. In divers Irish Annals Gregory's death is placed in 1162. But this is a mistake, owing to their having confounded the year of it with that of the accession of his successor, St. Laurence O'Toole, which was in 1162.

(41) Ware, *ib.* at Tuam.

(42) Ware (*ib.* at Killaloe) assigns his death to 1161; but the Annals of Innisfallen mark it at A. 1160.

(43) Ware (*ib.* at Ardfert) calls him *Mel-Brendan O'Ronan*, and strives to confound him with Mac-Ronan, bishop of Clonfert. But we have seen, (*Not.* 100 to *Chap.* xxvii.) that he was mistaken on this point. Harris adds, that Keating called him *Maol Breanuín O'Ruanáin*. His wretched translator has indeed these names, which he took from Ware with some alteration; but Keating himself has not, who gave no other name to that bishop of Kerry than *Brendan*, as appears from the quotations of his original text by Colgan.

(44) *Vita S. Laurentii*, cap. 10. This Life was written by a Canon Regular of Eu, in the diocese of Rouen, on the frontiers of Normandy, not many years after the saint had died in the mo-

nastery of that place. It has been published by Surius, and republished by Messingham in his *Florilegium*.

(45) Four Masters *ap. Tr. Th.* p. 309. Ware, *Archbishops of Dublin at Laurence O'Toole*.

(46) Four Masters, *ib.* *Lorcan* was latinized into *Laurentius*. In the quoted Life (*cap.* 2.) there is a ridiculous story about his having been called *Laurentius* from *laurus*, laurel.

(47) In said Life (*cap.* 1.) his father is called *Muriartach O'Toheil*, and is made king of Leinster. This is a mistake; for the O'Tuathal country was far from comprizing all that province. In Butler's Life of St. Laurence, at 14 November, the principality of Muriertach or Maurice is said to have been *in the vicinity of Dublin*. But Imaile, or, as usually called, the Glen of Imaile, is several miles from Dublin, lying to the S. W. of Glendaloch, and stretching to near the town of Donard.

(48) The author of the *Vit. S. L.* says (*cap.* 1.) that the saint's mother was called *Inian Ivrien*, that is, as he adds, *daughter of a prince*. But this is not the meaning of the words, which ought to be translated *daughter of Hy-Brin* or *O'Brin*, from the Irish *Ingean*, pronounced like *Inian*, a daughter, and *Ivrien*, that is, *Hy-Brin*. It is strange, that Harris did not see into this, when quoting (*Archbishops of Dublin at Laurence, &c.*) the passage of that author. In a note to the Life in Butler I find, instead of *Hy-Brin* or *O'Brin*, *alias* Byrne, the name written *O'Brian*. This is wrong; for the O'Brians were a quite distinct family, being of the Dalcassian princes of Munster, whereas the O'Brins were originally a Leinster house, supposed to be descended from the celebrated king Brandubh, who was killed about the year 602.

(49) This Diernit is usually, and I think justly, supposed to have been the famous Dermot Mac-Morough, king of Leinster, although Usher (*Sylog. Not. ad No.* 48.) makes him a different person. But I believe he was mistaken. Mac Morough was king of Leinster at the time that St. Laurence was ten years old.

(50) *Vit. S. L. cap.* 3. The then bishop of Glendaloch was apparently the immediate predecessor of Gilla-na-Naomh Laig-nech, who assisted at the council of Kells; but his name is not known.

§. VII. After some days his father, taking Laurence with him, paid a visit to the bishop of Glendaloch, and proposed to him to inquire, by casting lots, which of his sons he should dedicate to the ecclesiastical state. Laurence, on hearing this, is reported to have laughed, and said; "Father, there is no necessity for casting lots; if you allow me, I will embrace it with pleasure." The father smiled, and the bishop and others present were rejoiced to find, that a boy of such high lineage should offer himself for the service of the Church. His father then, consenting with joy, and taking him by the right hand, offered him to God and St. Coemhgen the patron of Glendaloch, recommending him to the care of the bishop for his instruction in learning and piety. Under his tuition and protection Laurence made great progress in the religious duties and acquirements necessary for a clergyman; but after some years he lost this worthy friend and master, who was carried off by death. (51) Yet he still persevered in his pious pursuits, and continued to improve in virtue, so that after some time he was, when 25 years of age, elected abbot of the monastery of Glendaloch, which was distinct from the bishopric. (52) This abbey was very rich, and it had been the custom to choose for its abbots men of the highest families, who might be able to protect the adjacent country. Laurence made the best possible use of the wealth of the monastery, distributing it among crowds of distressed and poor persons, who were afflicted by a dreadful famine, that raged throughout all that district for four years. (53) He used to provide them, by means of his monks, with corn and other necessaries, and his liberality was so extensive, that at length, the riches of the abbey not being sufficient for the wants of the poor, he distributed among them a treasure, which his father had left with him in deposit. He was, however, as great and holy men usually are, reviled by certain false

and envious brethren, but who with all their malignity could not find any thing in his conduct deserving of reproach. By dint of prayers he cleared the country from some powerful robbers, who were overtaken by the divine vengeance. Towards the end of the first four years of his administration tranquillity was restored, and a very abundant harvest ensued; yet Laurence still continued his largesses to the poor, and set about building churches. About this time the then bishop of Glendaloch died, and every one called out for Laurence as his successor. But he refused to accept of the appointment, excusing himself on his not having as yet reached the age required for a bishop. (54) Some years after these occurrences Gregory, archbishop of Dublin, died, and Laurence was, as we have seen, appointed his successor. (55)

(51) *Ib. capp.* 4. 5.

(52) In Butler's Life this matter is not stated correctly. In it we read; " Upon the death of the bishop of Glendaloch, who was at the same time abbot of the monastery, Laurence, though but 25 years old, was chosen abbot, and only shunned the episcopal dignity by alleging, that the canons require in a bishop thirty years of age." Now in the first place there is no authority for saying that the bishop was also abbot of the monastery. What the Latin Life has is merely, that there were in the church of Glendaloch both an episcopal see and an abbey; but it does not state, that any bishop possessed them both together. On the contrary it constantly represents them as quite distinct, and informs us, (*cap.* 6.) that the abbey was far more wealthy than the see. Nor had Butler any reason for supposing, that it was upon the death of the bishop that Laurence was chosen abbot; and probably a considerable time elapsed between said death, and Laurence's promotion to the abbacy. Next comes a great mistake in Butler's imagining, that the bishop, after whose death Laurence shunned the episcopal dignity, was the same as the one, by whom he had been instructed, and after whose death he became abbot; as if the appointment to the abbacy and the offer of the bishopric

had taken place at the same time. Laurence was, as will be soon seen, abbot for four years before he refused to accept of the see, that became vacant at the end of them by the death of the bishop, who consequently was not the one, who had been his master, but his successor.

(53) I do not know why Butler has four *months* instead of four *years*; for in Messingham's edition of the Latin Life four years are mentioned in *cap.* 6. and *cap.* 9.

(54) *Vit. S. L. cap.* 10. Laurence was then only 29 years old, having been appointed abbot at the age of 25. That foul-mouthed liar Ledwich gives, (*Antiq. &c. p.* 48.) as the reason of Laurence not having accepted of the see of Glendaloch, that "his ambition aspired to an higher dignity—the pall and the see of Dublin, and he soon attained them." But he did not soon attain them; for some years intervened before he became archbishop of Dublin. What idea could he have had at that time of his ever being chosen to govern the Danish city of Dublin, he a Tuathal, an O'Toole? It is as clear as day light that, instead of having an eye to that situation, he was forced to submit to it, the proposal relative to it having come, without his knowledge, from the electors of Dublin. The fact is, that Laurence did not wish to be a bishop at all. Many a conscientious man may agree to being made abbot; but holy men do not aspire to bishoprics. Harris was much more honest, who says, (*Archbishops of Dublin at Laurence*) that "he could not have the opportunities of exerting his strong disposition to charity, when bishop of Glendaloch, as he had when abbot; because the revenues of the bishopric were infinitely inferior to those of the abbacy." The bishop, in whose stead it was proposed to appoint Laurence, was, I am sure, Gilla-na-Naomh, mentioned above *Not.* 50. In what year he died I do not find; but it must have been between 1152 and 1161. the year of the death of Gregory of Dublin.

(55) Butler is wrong in stating that St. Laurence was only thirty years of age about the time of Gregory's death. This cannot agree with the Latin life, which states (*cap.* 10.) that a no short time, *non breve tempus*, elapsed between the time of Laurence's refusing the see of Glendaloch and that of the death of Gregory. Now Laurence was 29 years old when he made that refusal, and in Butler's hypothesis only one year would have passed between it

and said death. But surely so short a space would not have been called a *non breve tempus*; or how could the author of said Life have said (*cap.* 33.) that he died full of days, *plenus dierum*, if he was only about thirty when he became archbishop of Dublin? For in this case he would not have outlived the age of fifty, whereas his incumbency began in 1162, and he died in 1180. Accordingly Harris was right (*ib.*) in reckoning some years between his refusal of the see of Glendaloch and the death of Gregory.

§. VIII. In the same year 1162 Gelasius of Armagh held a synod at Clane in the now county of Kildare, which was attended by 26 bishops, many abbots, and other clergymen. After enacting several decrees relative to Church discipline and morals, it was ordered, with the unanimous consent of the synod, that for the future no one should be admitted a *Fer-leghinn*, that is, a professor or teacher of theology, in any church in Ireland, unless he had previously studied for some time at Armagh. (56) When returned to his diocese Gelasius did not remain idle, but immediately made a visitation of it, exerting himself most strenuously to correct whatever abuses fell in his way. (57) To said year 1162 is assigned the death of Cathasac a scholastic of Derry. (58) As soon as St. Laurence was placed on the see of Dublin, Dermot Mac-Murrough, king of Leinster, forced upon the monks of Glendaloch a certain person as their abbot, in opposition to the reclamations and ancient privilege of the clergy and people, who used to elect the abbot of that monastery. But he was afterwards put out, and in his stead was appointed Thomas, a nephew of the saint, and an excellent and learned young man. (59) Meanwhile St. Laurence was busily employed in attending to the government of his diocese, being particularly anxious for the regular and constant celebration of the Church offices. Not long after his accession he induced the Canons of Christ-church, who were until then Secular canons, to become

Canons Regular of the congregation of Aroasia. (60) He himself took the habit of the order, which he used to wear under his pontifical dress over a hair shirt, and observed its rules as much as he could, observing silence at the stated hours, and almost always attending along with them at the midnight offices, after which he often remained alone in the church, praying and singing psalms until day light, when he used to take a round in the church-yard or cemetery, chaunting the prayers for the faithful departed. Whenever it was in his power, he ate with the Canons in the refectory, practising, however, austerities, which their rule did not require ; for he always abstained from flesh-meat, and on Fridays either took nothing at all, or, at most, some bread and water. Yet occasionally he entertained rich and respectable persons, treating them sumptuously, while he contrived to touch the poorest sort of food, and, instead of wine, to drink wine and water, so much diluted that it had merely the colour of wine. And as to the poor there were no bounds to his charity. Among his other acts of beneficence he took care to see fed in his presence a certain number of them every day, sometimes sixty or forty, and never fewer than thirty. He delighted in retiring now and then to Glendaloch, and used to spend some time, even to the number of forty days, in an adjoining cave, famous for the memory of St. Coemhgen or Kevin, in fasting, praying and contemplation. (61)

(56) Thus the Life of Gelasius, *cap.* 23. and the 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th.* p. 309. But, according to certain anonymous annals, quoted by Harris, (*Bishops at Gelasius*) the decree was, as he explains it, that they should have been *fostered*, or *else adopted by Armagh*. As to *fostered* it means that they must have studied at Armagh, conformably to the phrase *alumnus*, which is used for a student in a university or college ; thus *ex. c. alumnus universitatis Parisiensis* signifies a student of the university of Paris. But the

words, *adopted by Armagh*, indicate a class of persons, who had not actually studied there, but who should be approved of by, to use a modern technical term, the faculty of Armagh, and authorized by it to teach theology publicly, in the same manner as in our times degrees and diplomas are taken out at universities, and in many of them are granted, after previous examination, to persons, who had studied elsewhere. It is very probable, that the decree of Clane did not require, that all those, who might afterwards be appointed public professors of theology, should have actually studied at Armagh, and that it was sufficient that, on their capability being ascertained, they had been approved of by the president and doctors of that distinguished school. It is difficult to think, that, while there were several other great schools in Ireland, *ex. c.* Lismore, Clonmacnois, Clonard, &c. persons of aspiring genius, bent on improving themselves in theology, would have been forced to repair from all parts of the island to Armagh to prosecute their studies there. It was a sufficiently high compliment to its school or university to grant it the exclusive privilege of approving of and authorizing persons to become public teachers. The decree, understood in this manner, was a very wise one, inasmuch as it served to uphold uniformity of doctrine.

(57) *Life*, &c. *cap.* 25. (58) *Tr. Th.* p. 632.

(59) *Vita S. S. cap.* 16. The time, at which Thomas became abbot of Glendaloch, is not marked; but, Archdall (at *Glendaloch*) assigns it to *A. D.* 1162. This is a mistake, as appears not only from the *Life* now referred to, but likewise from the circumstance, that in or about 1166 the abbot of Glendaloch was Benignus, whose name is signed to the foundation charter granted at that time to the priory of All Saints near Dublin. (See Harris, *Bishops*, p. 375.) Benignus was undoubtedly the abbot forced upon the monks by king Dermot. It cannot be supposed that Thomas was abbot prior to Benignus; for it is plain from said *Life*, that Thomas held the abbacy for several years; and consequently he must be placed after Benignus. Archdall (*ib.*) has a strange statement, relative to that abbey, expressed in these words; “*A.* 1173. Earl Richard, king Edward’s lieutenant in Ireland, granted to Thomas, his clerk, the abbey and parsonage of Glendaloch, and the lands,” &c. In the first place there was no king Edward at that time. By Earl Richard, Archdall must have meant Strongbow; but

how will this agree with his telling us immediately after, that the English adventurers plundered Glendaloch in 1176? Which shows, that it did not belong to any Englishman at that period. Dr Ledwich, quoting the Black book of Dublin, gives (*Antiq. &c p. 48.*) a more minute account of this pretended transaction. He says, that “ in 1173 Richard Strongbow—granted to Thomas, nephew of Laurence O’Toole, the abbey and parsonage of Glendaloch,” and that the charter was signed by Eva, wife of Strongbow, and other witnesses. If the Black book contains what he states, it contains a forgery. Thomas, the nephew, &c. did not get that abbey from Strongbow, but, as expressly mentioned in the above quoted Life (*loc. cit.*) from the clergy and people of Glendaloch. The Dr. himself tells us, that one of the witnesses to that deed marked Luke, archbishop of Dublin, whose incumbency began in 1228. He would fain change *Luke* into *Laurence*, that is, St. Laurence O’Toole. But the truth is, that this was a grant not of Richard Strongbow, but of Richard de Burgo, who was chief governor of Ireland in 1227 and 1228. (See in Ware’s and Harris’s *Antiq. the Table of the Chief Governors, &c. of Ireland.*) The fact is thus related by Archdall (*ib.*); “ *A. 1228.* Earl Richard, “ king Henry III.’s Lieutenant in Ireland, granted to Thomas, “ his clerk, the abbey and parsonage of Glendaloch, together with “ all its appurtenances, lands, and dignities, situate within and “ without the city in pure and perpetual alms.” The deed is in Harris’s *MS. Collectanea* at *A. D. 1228*, copied from the Black book of Dublin, *Lib. nig. Archiep. Dublin. fol. 92*, the very leaf, to which Ledwich refers. It mentions the numerous lands, &c. &c. and privileges belonging to the abbey, according as king Dermot had testified, “ *sicut in verbo veritatis Diarmicius rex testatus est.*” Richard is called simply *Count* without any addition indicating, that he was the same as Strongbow. Thomas is called his beloved and spiritual clerk, without the least hint, that he was the nephew of Laurence O’Toole. The names of the witnesses are Luke, archbishop of Dublin, the countess Eva, Walter de Riddell, Meiler son of Henry, and Nicholas a clerk. The Dr. makes Eva the same as the wife of Strongbow; but there was another Eva, her grand-daughter, and daughter of William Marshal earl of Pembroke. I do not find in Harris any grant made in 1173 by Strongbow, relative to Glendaloch. It is plain, notwithstanding

Archdall's mistake, to which Ledwich added circumstances of his own, that the grant to the clerk Thomas was by Richard de Burgo in 1228. In Strongbow's days the English were not in possession of Glendaloch.

(60) *Ib. cap. 11.* The abbey of Aroasia in the diocese of Arras had been founded eighty years prior to these times. (Fleury, *L.* 63. §. 25.)

(61) *Ib. cap. 12.* down to 17.

§. ix. A cathedral was erected at Derry in the year 1164 by the new bishop of that see, Flathbert O'Brolchan, (62) with the assistance of Maurice or Murtoogh Mac-Laughlin, king of Ireland. (63) Between this king and Eochad king of Ulidia, son of Dunslevi, a great contention had broke out, and Eochad in revenge for some injuries, which he alleged to have received from Murtoogh, plundered and laid waste Dahrieda, and some other tracts subject to the immediate jurisdiction of Murtoogh, who incensed by these proceedings marched with a great army into Ulidia, destroyed with fire and sword every thing, except the churches, declared Eochad despoiled of his kingdom, and carrying off the nobles of Ulidia returned to Armagh. While he was there, Donagh O'Kervail, prince of Ergall, and Eochad himself, waited upon him, and together with Gelasius the primate and the clergy of Ulster supplicated for the pardon of Eochad. At length it was obtained in 1165, Eochad was restored to his kingdom, and the Ulidian nobles, on giving up their children as hostages to Mac-Laughlin, were allowed to return home. But this agreement did not last long; for in the next year, owing to some false reports, as if Eochad had violated the treaty, Mac-Laughlin, in a fit of anger, got his eyes put out. Gelasius was sorely afflicted at this outrage, and several princes were highly incensed, particularly Donogh O'Kervail of Ergall, who raising an army, and being joined by the forces of Hy-Briun and

Conmacne, attacked with superior numbers Mac-Laughlin at Letter-luin, who, after having lost many of his nobles, fell himself in the field, *A. D.* 1166. (64) In the same year Gelasius met with another cause of grief, the dreadful conflagration of Armagh, which consumed the far greatest part of the city, and almost all the churches except that of St. Peter and St. Paul. (65) It is very singular, that a number of towns and places, distinguished in our ecclesiastical history, were destroyed by fire about these times. Thus Emly was burnt in 1162; Glendaloch in 1163; Clonfert, Clonmacnois, Louth, Tuam, and Tomgrany in 1164; Ferns in 1165, and again in 1166, by order of the king Dermot Mac-Morogh, lest it should fall into the hands of the Connacians. In said year also Louth was burnt again. (66) And yet I do not find any of these conflagrations attributed to the violence of contending parties, or to malicious or voluntary motives, except the second one of Ferns. The death of Moeliosa O'Lagenan, bishop of Emly, is marked at *A.* 1163; Donogh O'Brian, bishop of Killaloe, at *A.* 1165; (67) and that of Gilla Mac-Aiblen, bishop of Clonfert, at 1166. (68)

(62) See above §. 5.

(63) Ware, *Bishops of Derry*, and Harris, (*ib.* at *Flathbert O'Brolcan*) who mentions, that in the anonymous annals the king is called on this occasion Murtoth O'Neil. But, as he justly observes, this king was also an *O'Neil*, although he has been often called *O'Laughlin* or *Mac-Laughlin* from his grandfather Domnald Mac-Laughlin, who was likewise an *O'Neill*. (See *Chap.* xxiv. §. 14.)

(64) Life of Gelasius, *capp.* 25-26. Lettir-luin is there said to be in a wild tract or forest called *Fiodh-Hua-nechach* in Ulster, that is, as well as I can judge, somewhere near Lough-Neagh. Hy-briuin was probably that of Breifne (now Cavan and Leitrim) and Conmacne the adjoining one of Leitrim. (See Harris, *Antiq.*

ch. 7.) They belonged to O'Ruarc, who was hostile to the king Murtoigh Mac-Laughlin.

(65) Life, &c. *cap.* 26. It is odd, that Colgan in *Tr. Th.* p. 309. assigns this great fire to A. 1167, although he quotes said Life, which has it at 1166.

(66) See *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron.* For the second burning of Ferns see *AA. SS.* p. 223.

(67) Ware, *Bishops at Emly and Killaloe.* Harris adds, that the Annals of Innisfallen place Maeliosa's death in 1164, and that other Irish annals assign to the same year that also of Donogh O'Brian.

(68) Ware, *ib.* at *Clonfert.* He has this bishop erroneously also at Ardfert, and, I believe, for no other reason except that he found him called *comorban of Brendan.* For, as Harris observes, (addition *ib.*) he is thus mentioned in the Annals of Innisfallen; *Gilla-nem-Aiblen O'Hannicada, comorban of Brendan.* But, although the church of Ardfert was dedicated to St. Brendan, who was a Kerry man, yet the title *comorban of Brendan,* constantly means the bishop of Clonfert.

§. x. On the death of Murtoigh Mac-Laughlin the influence of the house of O'Conor, revived, and Roderic, the son of Turlogh, and king of Connaught, marched to Dublin, where he engaged the inhabitants in his cause, and, accompanied by a party of them, proceeded to Ulster and was there submitted to by the chieftains of the province. Returning thence, and having among his auxiliaries Tiernan O'Ruarc, prince of Breffny, he overran Leinster, was recognized as their chief superior by the lords and nobles, and deposed the profligate and tyrannical king of Leinster, Dermot Mac-Murchard or Mac-Morogh, another of his family being substituted in his place. The immediate cause of his dethronement was not, as vulgarly supposed, his having seduced and taken away Dearbhfhorguill or Dervorgal, daughter of Murchad or Murtoigh O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, and wife of Tiernan O'Ruarc. This crime had been committed several years before, and

as far back as *A.* 1153, (69) at a time when O'Ruarc had been dispossessed of his territories by Connaught and Leinster princes. As to the circumstances connected with this vile business, or how far the lady was culpable, this is not the place to inquire; and I will only observe, that the wicked Dermod availed himself of the opportunity of O'Ruarc's distressed situation for gaining his infamous end. O'Ruarc on being informed of it was greatly provoked, and, having contrived to get into favour with Turlogh O'Connor, then king of Ireland, applied to him for redress, who marching with an army into Leinster, rescued Dervorgal from Dermod's filthy embraces in the year 1154, and gave her up to her relatives in Meath. Thenceforth, in atonement for her follies, she distinguished herself by pious donations, and we have seen her making some considerable ones in 1157 to the church of Mellifont. (70) On the death of Turlogh O'Connor in 1156, and the accession of Murtoigh Mac-Laughlin to the throne of Ireland, Dermod attached himself to the new king, and was in the habit of harassing O'Ruarc. But the death of Mac-Laughlin in 1166 was fatal to him, and the day of retribution came at length for this bad man, when O'Ruarc, supported by Roderic O'Connor, had it in his power to wreak his vengeance on him in 1167, the year in which he was deposed. As he was hated almost by every one both in Leinster and elsewhere, (71) he became for some time an outcast and a vagabond. (72) Yet Dermod had founded religious houses. The oldest of them, that I meet with, was the nunnery of St. Mary de Hogges (73) near Dublin, as the city then stood, and near where the present church of St. Andrew is situated. He founded it about 1146 for nuns following the rule of St. Augustin according to the order of Aroasia. Gregory, archbishop of Dublin, and St. Malachy of Armagh, are said to have directed the building, and to have been benefactors to this nunnery. In

1151 Dermot subjected to it, as cells, two other nunneries, apparently of his own foundation, Kilclehin or Kilcleheen *alias De Bello portu*, in the now county of Kilkenny, near the Suir opposite to the city of Waterford, and Athaddy somewhere in the now county of Carlow. (74) In the same year 1151 he erected and endowed the abbey *De Valle salutis*, that is, of Baltinglas, for Cistercian monks. (75) Next, he founded and richly endowed a monastery for Augustin Canons at Ferns, his usual residence, in probably either 1160 or 1161. (76) Dermot's last foundation was the priory of All Saints on Hoggin-green, now called College-green, then outside Dublin, and on that part of it where Trinity college stands. He established it either a short time before or in the early part of 1166 for Aroasian Canons, and made over to Edan O'Killedy, bishop of Louth or Clogher, for its use the lands of Ballidubgail, (Balldoyle) &c. (77)

(69) Gerald Barry, usually called Giraldus Cambrensis, attributes (*Hibernia expugnata*, L. 1. cap. 1.) the punishment inflicted by Roderic O'Connor, &c. on Dermot to his having taken away O'Ruarc's wife, as if only a very short time had intervened between these transactions. Keating has the same mistake, (*Book 2. p. 105. Dublin ed. A. 1723*) which he seems to have copied from Giraldus, and introduces O'Ruarc applying to Roderic, when king of Ireland, for redress for the injury done him. But O'Ruarc's wife had been taken out of Dermot's hands several years before Roderic became king of Ireland, and about two years before he was even king of Connaught. Leland, who treats this matter with great perspicuity, (*History of Ireland, Book 1. ch. 1.*) has ably refuted the position of Giraldus.

(70) Above §. 4.

(71) Giraldus, although partial to the consequences occasioned by Dermot's proceedings, yet gives him the following character (*Hib. exp. L. 1. cap. 6.*); "*Nobilium oppressor, humilium erector, infestus suis, exosus alienis. Manus omnium contra ipsum, et ipse contrarius omni.*"

(72) See more on these subjects in Leland, *Book 1. ch. 1.*

(73) It has been observed, I think justly, as very probable, that *Hoggis* was not originally the name of the spot, but that it signified *virgins*, through an English corruption of the Irish word *Ogh* a virgin, so that *St. Mary de Hoggis* was the same as *St. Mary of the virgins*.

(74) See Ware, *Antiq. cap. 26.* at *Dublin* and *counties of Kilkenny* and *Carlow*; also Archdall at *Dublin* (*St. Mary de Hoggis*), *Kilcleehen*, and *Athaddy*. I do not find in what part of the county of Carlow Athaddy was situated.

(75) Some have assigned this abbey to 1148, as Ware states (*ib.* at *County of Wicklow*); but the Annals of Mary's abbey, itself a Cistercian house, place its foundation in 1151. Said annals are not apt to be wrong in making the Cistercian establishments later than they really were.

(76) Ware (*ib.* at *County of Wexford*) and Harris (*Monast.*) say, that this monastery was founded about 1158. On the other hand Archdall, (at *Ferns*) assign it to after 1166. Both these calculations are wrong; the former, because we find among the witnesses to Dermot's deed of foundation Malachy, bishop of Kildare. Now this Malachy, who is surnamed *O'Brin* or *O'Birn*, was not bishop there in 1158; for he succeeded Finn Mac-Kienan, who died in 1160. (Above §. 5.) Perhaps it may be said, that Finn had resigned his see some time before his death. (Compare with *Not. 34.*) Should this be admitted, I meet with nothing to set aside Ware's date. At any rate the foundation could not have been later than 1161, whereas another of the witnesses was St. Laurence O'Toole, while still abbot of Glendaloch, consequently before 1162. And this alone is sufficient to show the error of Archdall's calculation. Or who will imagine, that Dermot was engaged after 1166 in founding monasteries? Besides it is well known, that for some time after his dethronement in 1167 he was concealed in that same house of Augustin canons, in which he was received as having been the founder of it. (See Ware's *Annals of Ireland* at *A. D. 1167*) The foundation charter of this monastery may be seen in the *Monasticon Angl. Vol. 2. p. 1040.*

(77) The charter for the foundation of this priory is in Harris *MS. Collectanea* in the library of the Dublin Society. It is signed, among others, by Laurence, archbishop of Dublin. Ware (*Antiq. cap. 26.* at *Dublin*) and Harris (*Monast.*) mark this house

at 1166; but, if this date be correct, I think it must have been in the early part of said year, and before, in consequence of the death of the king Murtoth Mac-Loughlin, Dermot become exposed to the attacks of Roderic O'Connor and O'Ruarc. Edan, bishop of Clogher, is in that deed called Dermot's confessor. This was, I believe, owing to Dermot having, in his visits to Mac-Laughlin, occasionally met with Edan and confessed to him; but it is more than probable, that this intercourse ceased with Mac-Laughlin's death.

§. xi. Roderic O'Connor, having arranged matters in Leinster, went to Munster, where he made some regulations, being by this time recognized as king of all Ireland. He then returned to Meath, and held in the same year 1167 a great convention at Athboy, which was attended by the primate Gelasius, St. Laurence O'Toole, Cadla O'Dubhlaigh, archbishop of Tuam, and many others of the principal clergy; as also by Eochad O'Dunslevi, king of Ulidia, Dermot O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, Tiernan O'Ruairc, prince of Breffney, Donogh O'Kervail, prince of Ergall, Reginald, prince or chief of Dublin, Donogh O'Foelain, prince of the Desii, together with many noblemen and 13,000 horsemen. In this convention several decrees were made or renewed relative to the political state of the country and to ecclesiastical discipline. (78) Afterwards the king Roderic compelled the people of Hy-falgia (the ancient Offaly in Leinster) to restore the cattle and other property, which they had taken from the tenantry of Gelasius. (79) At the same year is marked the death of a very distinguished holy priest of Armagh, Moel-Michael O'Dothecain (80) and likewise that of O'Flanagan, bishop of Cloyne. (81) Flanachan O'Dubhai, bishop of Elphin, died in 1168, and was succeeded by Moeliosa O'Connachtain, who had assisted at the council of Kells, under the title of bishop of East Connaught. (82)

Dermot Mac-Morogh, bent on recovering his

kingdom, and not caring by what means, set out for England with 60 followers in 1168, and arrived at Bristol. Being there informed, that Henry II. was in Aquitaine, he sailed for that country, and when introduced to him, offered himself as his vassal and placed his kingdom, in case he should be reinstated in it, under his supreme dominion. Henry promised to assist him, but not being then able to succour him with any considerable force gave him a letter patent directed to all his subjects, English, Normans, Welsh, Scots, &c. encouraging and inviting them to help him towards the attainment of his object. (83) Thence Dermot returned to Bristol and negotiated with Richard, surnamed Strongbow, Earl of Chepstow or Strigul, who promised, on certain conditions, to send him assistance in the course of the following spring. He then went to Wales, and there engaged in his cause, on pledging himself to reward them amply, Robert Fitz-Stephens and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, both Normans and maternal brothers. Having made these arrangements, he returned to Ireland and remained during the whole winter concealed at Ferns. (84) While waiting for his Norman auxiliaries, he was near being totally ruined, and would have been so, had his Irish opponents used greater circumspection. (85)

(78) *Life of Gelasius, cap. 27. and Tr. Th. p. 310.* This assembly is called a convention of the clergy and princes of Lethcuin, or the northern half of Ireland, and it was principally so. For the only person from the South, who is mentioned as present at it, was Donogh O'Foelain.

(79) *Ib.* Hence it appears, that the see of Armagh possessed lands in Leinster.

(80) *Tr. Th. p. 309.*

(81) Ware, *Bishops at Cloyne.*

(82) Ware, *ib.* at *Elphin.* To what I have said elsewhere (*Not. 106. to Chap. xxvii.*) concerning Flanachan and Moeliosa, their sees, and the hypothesis of Moeliosa having been only a co-adjutor to him until his death, I may here add that it is probable,

that Moeliosa had been bishop of Roscommon, while Flanachan was bishop of Elphin, and that the union between the two sees did not take place until, after Flanachan's death, Moeliosa became bishop also of Elphin, after which the united sees went under one name either of *Elphin* or *Roscommon*. Should it be objected, that they must have been united before the council of Kells, because Roscommon, with the omission of Elphin, is reckoned among the suffragan sees supposed to have been constituted by that council, I answer, that we are not bound to believe, that the list of Cencius Camerarius (of which *ib.*) was exactly the same as that drawn up by the council. Yet I do not pretend to decide upon this matter; whereas in either one or the other supposition it can be easily cleared up.

(83) Giraldus Cambr. *Hib. expugn. L. 1. cap. 1.* Henry's letter is as follows; "Henricus, rex Angliae, dux, &c. Universis fidelibus suis Anglis, Normannis, Gualensibus, et Scotis, cunctisque nationibus suae ditioni subditis, salutem—Cum praesentes ad vos literae pervenerint, noveritis nos Dermitium Lageniensium principem in gratiae nostrae et benevolentiae sinum suscepisse. Unde et quisquis ei de amplitudinis nostrae finibus, tamquam *homini et fidei nostro*, restitutionis auxilium impendere voluerit, se nostram ad hoc tamen gratiam noverit quam licentiam obtinere."

(84) Ware, *Annals of Ireland, Introduction.* According to him Dermot returned to Ireland in 1168; but Leland (*History, &c. ch. 1.*) says in 1169.

(85) See Leland, *ib.*

§. XII. In 1169 Roderic O'Connor added to the salary of the chief professor of Armagh an annual donation of ten oxen, and by a deed, which he published, bound his successors to continue the same, on condition that the general school should be kept up both for students from all parts of Ireland and for those from Scotland. (86) It was in this year, according to several authors, and in the month of May, that Fitz-Stephen, accompanied by Miler Fitz-Henry, Milo-Fitz-David, Herveyde Monte Marisco (Mount-Morris) and several other horsemen or knights, together with 360 soldiers of different descriptions,

landed near Bannow, in the now county of Wexford, being the first of the Anglo-Normans that made an attempt upon any part of Ireland. (87) On the next day Maurice de Prendergast arrived with an additional number of troops, and the whole army was soon after joined by Dermod himself at the head of five hundred of his best Leinster soldiers. The united body then marched to Wexford, where they met with a very sharp resistance from the Danish inhabitants; but not long after the town was surrendered to Dermod, who, according to promise, made it over, together with two adjoining cantreds, to Fitz-Stephen and Fitz-Gerald. He gave also some lands to Hervey de Monte Marisco. After this, being joined by many Irish and by the Wexford Danes, they advanced into Ossory, whose prince was then Donald Mac-Gilla-Patric (Fitzpatrick) a man very obnoxious to Dermod. They were repulsed several times by the Ossorians, who would in the end have beaten them off, had they not imprudently pursued them into a plain, where they were overpowered by the cavalry. Two hundred heads of the Ossorians were laid at Dermod's feet, who repeatedly leaped with savage joy, and actually bit off the nose and lips of one of them, which had belonged to a man, whom he particularly hated. Yet this beastly prince was at length obliged to make peace with Donald and the Ossorians. (88) Meanwhile Roderic O'Conor, being joined by several Irish princes, raised a great army and marched into Leinster, but finding Dermod's party, which many of the Irish had already forsaken, and his foreign auxiliaries encamped in an almost impregnable position not far from Ferns, did not think it prudent to attack them, and endeavoured to negotiate with Fitz-Stephen and with Dermod himself for the departure of the strangers. Dermod seemed willing to agree to Roderic's proposals on condition of being reinstated in the kingdom of Leinster, and even delivered up an illegiti-

mate son of his as a hostage to remain with Roderic. But on the arrival of Maurice Fitz-Gerald at Wexford, with an additional body of auxiliaries, he broke his word, and repaired with his united army to join him in that town. It was then determined to march upon Dublin, the environs of which they cruelly ravaged. Dermod was soon after under the necessity of accommodating matters with the citizens of Dublin, and agreed with them to leave the government of the city to Hasculph, their Danish prince, under fealty to himself. For at this time Roderic O'Connor was making war on Donald O'Brian, usually called king of Limerick, but in reality king of North Munster, who was married to a daughter of Dermod, and had entered into a league with him, to prevent the consequences of which he was attacked by Roderic. Dermod then sent Fitz-Stephen with an army to the assistance of O'Brian, which, united with his forces, forced Roderic to return to Connaught. (89) Thus, while the infatuated Irish were fighting among themselves, the common enemy was making his way towards undermining them all.

(86) Life of Gelasius, *cap.* 23. and *Tr. Th.* p. 310. Whether this mode of contributing to the emoluments of the head professor was owing to a scarcity of money, or to the consideration that payments in kind are less variable in value than those in specie, I am not able to tell.

(87) Ware, *Annals &c.* at *Henry II. ch.* 1. He assigns their arrival to *A.* 1169, as does also O'Flaherty, *Ogygia. Part.* III. *cap.* 94. and *MS. note* to *Tr. Th.* p. 310. Colgan (*ib.*) seems to place it in *A.* 1170, although in the dedication of the work he quotes the Irish annals, which mark the arrival of a fleet from England in Ireland at 1169. Leland, having placed Dermod's return to Ireland in 1169, (see *Not.* 84) affixes (*loc. cit.*) the landing of Fitz Stephen to the following year, *i. e.* 1170. As I am not writing the civil history of Ireland, I shall not enter into a controversy on this subject; but I think Ware's and O'Flaherty's

dates more correct, and will follow them. I must, however, add, that also Lord Lyttleton (*History of king Henry, II. Book 4.*) assigns the arrival of Fitz-Stephens to A. 1169. I pass by Keating, or his wretched translator, who (*Book 2. p. 107*) marks it at 1175. This is a strange blunder; for afterwards mention is made of 1171 and 1172, as years before which the English had come to Ireland. Perhaps it is a typographical error.

(88) See Giraldus, *Hib. exp.* Lyttleton, and Leland, *loc. citt.*

(89) Ware, *Annals at A. 1169*, Lyttleton, *loc. cit.* &c. &c.

§. XIII. Dermot, elated by his success, took it into his head to become king of all Ireland, but was advised to wait for the reinforcements, which Strongbow had promised to send him, to whom he accordingly wrote a very pressing letter, urging him to fulfil his promise. After some time Strongbow dispatched in the beginning of May, A. D. 1170, Raymond le Grose with some knights and archers, who landed on the Wexford coast not far from Waterford under a rock then called *Dundolf*, (90) where they fortified themselves, expecting the arrival of Strongbow. They were soon after joined by Herve de Monte Marisco and a few other knights. The citizens of Waterford thought it advisable to attack them before their numbers should be increased, and being joined by O'Faolain of the Desies, and O'Ryan of Idrone, (91) crossed the Suir, and invested their fort, which they entered, on which occasion some desperate fighting ensued, and after great loss in slain, seventy of the citizens were made prisoners. These were, on the advice and instigation of Herve, and in opposition to the opinion of the valiant Raymond, most cruelly put to death by first breaking their limbs, and then throwing them headlong into the sea. (92) In the course of the same year 1170, Strongbow landed near Waterford on the 23d of August, with about 1200 men, 200 of whom were knights. (93) Without waiting for a junction with Dermot's forces, or even with those of Ray-

mond, which were still in the fort, he attacked Waterford, and, though twice repulsed, took it by storm on the 25th. The inhabitants were dreadfully slaughtered, and on his taking also a tower, in which, among others, were Reginald prince of the Waterford Danes, and O'Faolain, they were condemned to death, but saved through the intercession of Dermot, who came up with Fitz-Stephen and others just after the victory. Not many hours afterwards Eva, (94) a daughter of Dermot, was, according to a former stipulation, married to Strongbow, and they were publicly declared heirs to king Dermot. But on intelligence being received that Dublin and its governor Hasculph had shaken off all obedience to Dermot, he and Strongbow hastened to march to that city, leaving a garrison at Waterford. Proceeding by mountainous and bye ways they arrived under the walls of Dublin, and at length, owing to the bravery of Milo de Cogan and Raymond, got possession of it; Hasculph and many others having escaped to ships lying in the harbour, and sailed to the Northward. Before the taking of the city St. Laurence O'Toole had been negotiating with the besiegers for good terms for his flock, and after their entrance exerted himself as far as he could for their protection. Amidst the dreadful massacre and plundering of the city he exposed himself in all directions, dragged the palpitating bodies of the slain from the hands of the enemies, and got them buried. Such persons as survived he relieved in every possible manner. At great risk he obtained that the clergy might remain in their situations, and recovered from the pillagers the books and ornaments, which had belonged to the churches. (95)

(90) Smith (*History of Waterford*, p. 99.) calls this place *Dundrone*. I do not find a place of this name. Perhaps it was the now Duncannon fort. At any rate it was on the co. Wexford side of the Suir.

(91) This Idrone must not be confounded with the Idrone of the now county of Carlow. Smith (*ib.*) says, that it was a part of Ossory, *i. e.* a part near the Suir.

(92) Lord Lyttleton bitterly exclaims against this barbarous act of iniquity.

(93) The date of this arrival marked by Ware, O'Flaherty, and Lyttleton is *A.* 1170. Leland has 1171; but I think he was mistaken.

(94) Keating (*Book 2. p.* 110.) calls her *Aoife*.

(95) *Vita S Laurentii, cap.* 18.

§. xiv. At this time Roderic O'Connor was in Connaught, whither he had been obliged to repair for the purpose of defending his hereditary territories against the aggressions and devastations of Donald O'Brian. After the fall of Dublin Dermod and Strongbow, leaving the government of the city to Milo de Cogan, marched into Meath, then under the administration of O'Ruarc, and into Breffny, O'Ruarc's own principality, which countries they ravaged, committing incredible barbarities on the inhabitants. Roderic was so incensed at these proceedings, that he sent messengers to Dermod with a letter, in which upbraiding him with his perfidy and perjury in having violated the agreement entered into between them, he required of him to desist from his measures and send back the foreigners, and, in case of his refusal, threatened to send him the head of his son, whom he held as a hostage. To this Dermod replied, that he would neither dismiss the foreigners, nor cease in his pursuits until he should become monarch of all Ireland. Some say, that Roderic, on receiving this insolent answer, actually executed his threat; but this is denied by others. (96) About this time a general synod of the Irish clergy was held at Armagh, in which, after much deliberation concerning the arrival of the foreigners in Ireland, it was unanimously declared, that this misfortune was a judgment of God on ac-

count of the sins of the people, and particularly because they used to buy English persons from merchants, robbers, and pirates, and reduce them to slavery, and that it would appear, that they in their turn were to be enslaved by that nation. For the English people, while their kingdom was still firm, were, through a common vice of the nation, accustomed to expose their children for sale, and, even before they were in any want or distress, to sell their own sons and relatives to the Irish. It might therefore be probably supposed, that for this enormous crime the purchasers deserved the yoke of slavery, in the same manner as the sellers had been treated already (in consequence of the Norman conquest of England). It was therefore decreed, and unanimously ordered by the synod, that all the English throughout Ireland, who might happen to be in a state of slavery, should be restored to their original liberty. (97) Dermot and Strongbow, after their expedition in Meath and Breffny proceeded to Leinster, and expelled from their territories O'Connor of Ophaly and Fitzpatrick of Ossory. Then, as winter was coming on, Dermot returned to Ferns, and Strongbow to Waterford. Meanwhile the king, Henry II. became jealous of the progress of Strongbow, and, among other measures taken to put a stop to it, issued an order, that all his subjects, who had gone to Ireland, should return before the following Easter. But Strongbow found means to appease him, and was allowed to remain with his troops in Ireland.

(96) Keating (*ib.* p. 111.) states, that Roderic, although highly provoked at Dermot's insolence, yet on mature reflection abstained from putting the hostage to death.

(97) I have taken this remarkable narrative from Giraldus, (*Hib. exp. L. 1. cap. 18.*) adding only the few words within the parenthesis, which I think necessary for understanding his meaning. His text is, as follows: "His itaque completis, convocato apud

Ardmachiam totius Hiberniae clero ; et super advenarum in insulam adventu tractato diutius et deliberato ; tandem communis omnium in hoc sententia resedit, propter peccata scilicet populi sui, eoque praecipue quod Anglos olim tam a mercatoribus, quam a praedonibus atque pyratibus, emere passim et in servitutem redigere consueverant, divinae censura vindictae hoc eis incommodum accidisse, ut et ipsi quoque ab eadem gente in servitutem vice reciproca jam redigantur. Anglorum namque populus, adhuc integrorum regno, communi gentis vitio, liberos suos venales exponere, et, priusquam inopiam ullam aut inedia sustinerent, filios proprios et cognatos in Hiberniam vendere consueverant. Unde et probabiliter credi potest, *sicut venditores olim*, ita et emptores tam enormi delicto juga servitutis jam meruisse. Decretum est itaque praedicto Concilio, et cum universitatis consensu publice statutum, ut Angli ubique per insulam servitutis vinculo mancipati in pristinam revocentur libertatem." The editors of Ware's Annals in English make him say, (at *A.* 1170) that it was concluded by the clergy, that "God had afflicted the Irish, particularly *for their selling the English taken by pirates, or otherwise.*" This is a shameful, and, I am sure, a wilful perversion of Ware's original. What Ware actually wrote I cannot tell, whereas the part of his Annals, prior to the reign of Henry VII., was not published until many years after his death ; but this much is certain, that he never wrote what those editors have here attributed to him ; for he understood Latin very well, and was too honest to corrupt his authorities. Could he have said, that the Irish used to sell the English, in direct opposition to Giraldus, whom he had before his eyes, and who positively states that they were Englishmen, who used to *sell* them, and mentions as the only fault of the Irish, that they were wont to *buy* them? Those editors wished to throw the whole blame upon the Irish, and to screen the English from the direct charge brought against that nation ; and this was also their reason for omitting what Giraldus has about Englishmen selling their children and relatives. He is not the only authority for this nefarious practice ; for it is mentioned and prohibited in the 28th canon of the council of London held under Anselm, *A. D.* 1102 (*ap. Wilkins Concil. &c. V. 1. p.* 383) ; "Ne quis illud nefarium negotium, quo hactenus homines in Anglia solebant velut bruta animalia venditari, deinceps ullatenus facere praesumat."

§. xv. Dermot died at Ferns on the 4th of May in the following year 1171. (98) It is said, that his disease was of a horrid and unknown kind, and that he died in a state of impenitence, as an object of divine wrath for his many crimes during a long reign, and for the mischiefs and bloodshed caused by his tyranny and ambition. Hasculph, the late governor of Dublin, having during his absence procured from the Orkneys and other Islands an army of Norwegians, commanded by John, surnamed the *Furious*, entered in this year the Liffey with sixty ships, and landing the men, attacked the eastern gate of the city; but after much hard fighting, in which many were slain on both sides, was repulsed by Milo de Cogan, owing chiefly to an unexpected attack on the assailants made by his brother Richard with a body of cavalry. In this conflict John was killed, and Hasculph taken prisoner, whom, on account of a bold declaration of his publicly announced, Milo ordered to be beheaded, while the survivors returned to their ships. After this affair Strongbow, together with Fitzgerald, Raymond, &c. repaired to Dublin, and was soon after reduced to a very perilous state. For St. Laurence, who was a great lover of his country, and had been an eyewitness of the atrocities committed by the foreigners on their becoming masters of the city, encouraged by means of messengers, the king Roderic and other Irish princes to unite for the total expulsion of these marauders, and joined them in applying for assistance to Godred, the king of Mann, and of other islands. A short time elapsed before Roderic invested Dublin with a great army, and thirty ships, sent by Godred, blockaded the harbour. Roderic's plan was to compel Strongbow and his forces by means of famine to capitulate and quit Ireland; and, as the siege and blockade continued nearly two months, they were brought to great distress. St. Laurence was on this occasion employed in arranging terms,

and in the name of the Irish assembly announced to Strongbow and his people, that it was required, that they should give up all the places that they occupied, and leave Ireland on a certain fixed day. (99) But the Irish, notwithstanding their high demands, carried on the siege in a very slovenly manner; and the besieged, unwilling to submit to their proposals, availed themselves of their negligence to make a sudden and vigorous sally with a chosen and numerous body of knights, esquires, and infantry, in which they succeeded even beyond their expectation, the Irish being taken quite unawares, and through want of foresight of such a desperate attempt, in a state of disorder and confusion. Roderic, against whose quarters the chief attack was made, was then bathing, and had a very narrow escape. The whole Irish army suffering great loss, was dispersed, and the victors returned to Dublin, bringing with them great spoil of baggage, and particularly of provisions.

(98) Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1170. Others assign his death to the close of *A.* 1170. Keating (*Book 2. p.* 112.) has it in May, but erroneously, I think, of the year 1172. He himself discovers his error by telling us, that Dermot died in the May next after the murder of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, which he supposed to have occurred in 1171. Now it is well known, that said murder was committed on the 29th of December, *A. D.* 1170.

(99) Leland, *History, &c. B.* 1. *ch.* 2. See also for St. Laurence's proceedings. Giraldus, *Hib. exp. cap.* 22. Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1171. Lyttleton, &c. &c.

CHAP. XXIX.

Arrival of Henry II. in Ireland—several of the Irish princes submit to him—Synod of Cashel, not attended by the northern bishops—Decrees said to have passed there—The payment of Peter-pence never enforced in Ireland—Fabulous story of the Irish baptizing their children with milk—Decrees of the Synod of Cashel not observed by the people of Ireland—Departure of Henry from Ireland—Provincial Synod of Tuam—Deaths and succession of several bishops—The Bull of Adrian IV. and confirmatory Brief of Alexander III. sent into Ireland by Henry II.—Conference between O'Ruarc and Hugh de Lacy—Murder and barbarous treatment of the body of O'Ruarc by the English—Atrocities committed by the English in various parts of Ireland—The English defeated by Donald O'Brien—Roderic O'Conor ravages Meath—Fortifications of Trim and Duleek demolished by Hugh Tirrel—Reymond le Grose and Donald prince of Ossory besiege Limerick—Treaty of Windsor between Henry II. and Roderic O'Conor—St. Laurence O'Toole a subscribing witness to this treaty—Augustin, an Irishman, appointed bishop of Waterford by Henry—St. Laurence O'Toole wounded by a madman, whilst approaching the Altar to celebrate Mass in the Church of Canterbury—Death and succession of other bishops—Priory of St. John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham founded—Death of Strongbow—Castle of Slane attacked and demolished by Mac Loghlin—War between De Courcy and Mac Dunlevy—Synod of Dublin—Foundation of the abbey of St. Thomas at Dublin—Disensions between Roderic O'Conor and his son—Connaught invaded by the English—they are compelled by hunger to retreat, and are attacked

and defeated by the Conacians—John declared king of Ireland by his father Henry II.—Several districts in Ireland granted by Henry to his followers—John De Courcy defeated in Ulster—Foundation of the Abbey of Rosglas or Monastereven—Irish bishops who attended the 3d General Council of Lateran—St. Laurence O'Toole recives a Bull from the Pope confirming the jurisdiction of the see of Dublin over those of Glendalough, Kildare, Ferns, and Ossory—Foundation of the Abbey of Ashroe, or Easrue Several churches burned—Hugh de Lacy appointed Lord Deputy—St. Laurence O'Toole exerts himself in reforming the manners of all ranks of people—goes to England for the purpose of settling a dispute between Henry II. and Roderic O'Conor—Henry refuses him permission to return to Ireland—He passes into France, takes sick, and dies in the monastery of Augum, now Eu, at the entrance of Normandy—Canonized by Pope Honorius III.

SECT. I.

PASSING over some minor transactions, the detail of which would be too tedious, and not within my plan, I now proceed to the arrival of Henry II., who landed at Waterford on St. Luke's day, the 18th of October, *A. D.* 1171, (1) with an army consisting of 500 knights (2) and about 4000 men at arms. He remained there for some days, and appeared rather as a protector than an enemy of the Irish people. During his stay in that city he was waited upon by Dermod Mac-Carthy, who has been called by some writers king of Cork, but who should rather have been styled king of Desmond. Dermod submitted to him, swore fealty, and giving him hostages promised to pay an annual tribute. It has been falsely and foolishly said, that *all* the archbi-

shops, bishops, and abbots of Ireland attended Henry at Waterford, and tendered him their obedience. (3) The only bishop whom, in all probability, the king saw there was that of Waterford, whoever he was. Thence he marched with his army to Lismore, and afterwards to Cashel, where, or near which city, he was met by Donald O'Brian, king of Thomond, who submitted to him, and acknowledged himself his vassal. About the same time O'Faolain of the Desies, and Donald Mac-Gilla-Patric of Ossory acted in the same manner. These princes were well received and honourably treated by Henry, who soon after proceeded to Dublin. Here he was waited upon by Murchard O'Carrol prince of Ergal, Tiernan O'Ruarc of Breffny, and some other princes, who also submitted themselves to his supreme authority. Those of the northern parts of Ulster did not attend, and Roderic O'Conor delayed to imitate the example of the minor potentates. At length, however, he agreed to meet, on the borders of his Connaught kingdom near the Shannon, Hugh de Lacy and William Fitz-Aldelm, who were empowered by Henry to receive his act of homage, and to treat of the tribute, which he would have to pay. The matter was thus settled, and peace was declared between the two kings. (4) Henry spent the Christmas festival of 1171 in Dublin, and splendidly entertained such of the Irish princes and nobles as were in that city.

(1) This is the year marked by Ware, O'Flaherty, Lyttelton, Fleury (*Hist. Eccl. L.* 72. §. 37.) &c. &c. Keating (*Book 2. p.* 112) has *A.* 1172, and so has Leland, *B.* 1. *ch.* 3. But they were mistaken; and it is clear even from Hoveden, who seems to favour their opinion, that Henry's arrival was in 1171; for he tells us, that the Christmas day, which Henry spent in Dublin, fell on a Saturday. Now that was the Christmas day of 1171, not of 1172, in which that festival fell on Monday.

(2) Maurice Regan, as Ware observes, mentions only 400. Giraldus and Keating have 500.

(3) Hoveden, whether the author of it or not, has this lie, and so has Brompton, the lying abbot of Iorval, of whom more hereafter; but Giraldus has it not. It is not only a lie, but a foolish one. For how could *all* the archbishops, bishops, &c. have come to Waterford time enough to pay their obeisance to Henry? Or would Roderic O'Connor, or O'Ruarc have allowed the bishops of their states to wait upon him? Next it is certain, that neither the primate Gelasius nor any bishop of the Ulster province called upon Henry, at least until he was arrived in Dublin. Ware says nothing about this fable, nor does Keating; and it is rejected by Lyttelton (*Book* 4.) and Leland, *B.* 1. *ch.* 3. Hoveden then, gives a list (nearly followed by Brompton) of the archiepiscopal and episcopal sees, which, he says, existed at that time in Ireland, reckoning them according to the order and dignity of the archiepiscopates, 1. Armagh. 2. Cashel. 3. Dublin. 4. Tuam. His account of the suffragan sees, which, according to him, were only 28, is quite incorrect; for there were at that period not fewer than 34 such sees. (See *Chap.* XXVII. §. 15.) And his names for several of those, which he has, are so strange and unlike the Irish ones, that it can hardly be guessed what places he meant. Who could understand what were such sees as *Thuensis*, *Ceneversis*, *Lucapniarensis*, *Erupolensis*, *Kinfernensis*, *Kinlathensis*, &c.? Yet the *soi-disant* antiquary Ledwich (*Ant.* p. 440. *seqq.*) would fain prefer this wretched catalogue to any other of our sees at that time. Any thing was good enough for him, except Irish documents. I suppose, that the sees mentioned by Hoveden, or Brompton, are those, which Dr. Milner alludes to, when he confidently tells us, (*Additional note to his Letters on Ireland*, p. 50.) "that it was not till the English invasion that the Irish prelates found themselves enabled to establish regular and canonical limits to their dioceses and succession among themselves." I wish he had told us, where he picked up this piece of information. Not to speak of the synod of Rathbreasil, did he not know, that matters of this kind had been treated of and settled by the council of Kells?

(4) Giraldus pretends, (*Hib. exp. L.* 1. *cap.* 32.) that this act of Roderic virtually subjected all Ireland and its inferior kings and

princes to the power of Henry, inasmuch as he had been the head of them. This is a false conclusion; for Roderic was only an elective and little more than nominal king of Ireland, and the only consequence of his submission was at most, that his hereditary kingdom of Connaught became feudatory to Henry. No act of his could be binding on the other kings and princes, no more than, according to the late Germanic constitution, all Germany, including the Prussian states, &c. &c. could have been made over by an Emperor to a foreign power.

§. II. Early in the following year 1172 a synod was held at Cashel, (5) which met by order of Henry for the purpose of regulating some matters of ecclesiastical discipline. It has been said, that all the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, besides abbots, &c. attended. (6) This is not true; for in the first place the primate Gelasius did not appear there, not because his great age or infirmities prevented him, but because he did not choose to assist at said synod. (7) And we know that in the same year Gelasius was able to make a general visitation of the whole province of Connaught, which he continued through Ulster, until he returned to Armagh, where he spent the remainder of his life. (8) Next it is certain, that no suffragan bishop of Ulster was present at the council of Cashel, (9) except it may be supposed, that the bishop of Ergall or Clogher might have attended in compliment to his master O'Carrol. Donald O'Hullucan of Cashel, St. Laurence of Dublin, and Catholicus, or Cadla, of Tuam are stated to have assisted at it, together with their suffragan bishops, besides abbots, archdeacons, &c. On the part of Henry, and sent by him, there were Ralph, archdeacon of Landaff, Nicholas his chaplain, and some other ecclesiastics. The president was Christian, bishop of Lismore and apostolic legate. Were we to believe certain authors, a list was drawn up of what they were pleased to call enormities and dirty practices of the Irish, and sealed by Chris-

tian. This is a silly tale of a lying faction; (10) for, whatever real abuses in matters of church discipline might have existed in Ireland, they had been already corrected in various synods, at several of which Christian had been present. We may judge of those pretended enormities from the tenour of the wonderful regulations proposed to the synod by Henry's messengers for the reformation of the Irish church, and afterwards agreed to. According to one account it was decreed, 1. That children should be brought to the church and baptized there in clean water, with the triple immersion, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and that this should be done by the priests, except in case of imminent danger of death, in which they may be baptized any where, and by any person whatsoever without distinction of sex or order. 2. It was ordered, that tithes should be paid to the churches out of *every* sort of property; and 3. That all laymen, who wish to take wives, should take them according to the Canon law. (11)

(5) Giraldus places this synod after Henry had received various Irish princes at Dublin and passed Christmas there. Consequently he assigns it to A. 1172. But the summons for its assembling had been issued earlier. Hoveden, amidst other bungling, tells us, that it was held while Henry was still at Waterford, before he went to Dublin. (See *Rerum Anglican. Scriptores*, p. 528. Frankfort, A. 1601.) This is truly ridiculous; as if prelates from various parts of Ireland could have assembled at Cashel during the short time that Henry was at Waterford, or as if they would have obeyed his summons before their sovereigns had recognized his authority.

(6) This is insinuated by Hoveden, (*ib.*) after having previously given the notable list of Irish sees, of which above *Not.* 3.

(7) Giraldus pretends, (*Hib. exp. L. 1. cap. 34.*) that the absence of Gelasius was owing to his age and infirmities, but adds that he afterwards waited on Henry at Dublin. This is, I am sure, a fabrication of Giraldus' own; for, had Gelasius done so, it

cannot be doubted that so memorable a visit would have been recorded in his Life, which is very particular as to his transactions, or in some of the Irish annals. Now neither the one nor the other have a word about it. The fact is, that Gelasius was not afraid of Henry's displeasure; for none of the Ulster princes, except O'Kervauill or Carrol of Ergal, who was not Gelasius's sovereign, had submitted to Henry. Lyttleton conjectures, (*Book 4.*) that Gelasius absented himself on account of his unwillingness to yield the precedence in the synod to Christian of Lismore the Pope's legate. This is a pitiful conjecture; but Lyttleton did not know, that Gelasius had yielded that precedence in the synod of Kells of 1152, and in that of Mellifont in 1157.

(8) Life of Gelasius, *cap.* 29. and *Tr. Th.* p. 310.

(9) Giraldus (*loc. cit.*) mentions only the suffragans of the archbishops of Cashel, Dublin, and Tuam. See also Leland, *B. 1. ch.* 3. and Lynch, *Cambr. evers.* p. 189.

(10) Giraldus has this story, (*ib. cap.* 33.) but Hoveden has it not.

(11) Such is the summary of the decrees as given by Hoveden (*loc. cit.*) whose words are; "In concilio illo statutum est, ut pueri deferrentur ad ecclesiam, et ibi baptizentur in aqua munda, sub triua mersione, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti; et hoc a sacerdotibus fiat, nisi metu mortis impediante ab alio et alias oportuerit fieri, et tunc a quolibet fiat sine exceptione sexus et ordinis. Et ut decimae dentur ecclesiis *de omnibus, quae possidentur*. Et ut omnes laici, qui uxores habere velint, eas secundum jus ecclesiasticum habeant."

§. III. There is another account of the decrees of this synod, which is fuller and more correct, and which is stated to contain the very words, in which they were drawn up. It runs thus: "1. That the faithful throughout Ireland do contract and observe lawful marriages, rejecting those with their relations either by consanguinity or affinity. 2. That infants be catechized before the door of the church, and baptized in the holy font in the baptismal churches. 3. That all the faithful do pay the tithe of animals, corn, and *other produce* to the church, of which they are parishioners. 4. That

“all ecclesiastical lands and property connected
 “with them be quite exempt from the exactions
 “of all laymen. And especially, that neither the
 “petty kings, nor counts, nor any powerful men
 “in Ireland, nor their sons with their families do
 “exact, as was usual, victuals and hospitality or
 “entertainments in the ecclesiastical districts, or
 “presume to extort them by force; and that the
 “detestable food or contributions, which used to
 “be required four times in the year from the farms
 “belonging to churches by the neighbouring counts,
 “shall not be claimed any more. 5. That, in case
 “of a murder committed by laymen, and of their
 “compounding for it with their enemies, clergy-
 “men their relatives are not to pay part of the
 “fine (or *Erick*), but that, as they were not con-
 “cerned in the perpetration of the murder, so
 “they are to be exempted from the payment of
 “money. 6. That all the faithful, lying in sick-
 “ness, do, in the presence of their confessor and
 “neighbours, make their will with due solemnity,
 “dividing, in case they have wives and children,
 “(excepting their debts and servants wages) their
 “moveable goods into three parts, and bequeathing
 “one for the children, and another for the lawful
 “wife, and the third for the funeral obsequies.”
 (Then come regulations relative to the disposal of
 the property in case the man had no legitimate
 issue, or that his wife was already dead.) “7.
 “That due respect be paid to those, who die after
 “a good confession, by means of masses, vigils,
 “and decent burial.—Likewise that all divine mat-
 “ters be henceforth conducted agreeably to the
 “practices of the holy Church, according as ob-
 “served by the Anglican church.” (12) These
 decrees, being subscribed by the members of the
 synod, were afterwards confirmed by the king.
 They are the only ones that emanated from the
 synod; and some writers have been greatly mis-

taken in supposing, that some words, in which Giraldus Cambrensis praises Henry to the skies, and attributes to him a mighty reformation of the Irish church, contain a declaration, with which the synod complimented him. (13)

(12) These are the decrees detailed by Giraldus, (*Hib. exp.* c. 34.) and in all appearance, faithfully and correctly. The short account, which I have just copied from Hoveden, is not in the words of the synod, but is partly abridged and partly paraphrastical. For the clearer understanding of the proceedings of the synod, I here lay before the reader the whole account of it as drawn up by Giraldus, *ib. capp.* 33, and 34. After having mentioned Henry's spending the Christmas holidays in Dublin, he writes: "Silente igitur insula in conspectu regis, tranquilla pace gaudente, Ecclesiae Dei decus Christique cultum in partibus illis magnificandi ampliori desiderio rex accensus totius cleri Hiberniae concilium apud Cassiliam convocavit. Ubi requisitis et auditis publice terrae illius et gentis tam enormitatibus quam spurcitiis, et in scriptum, et sub sigillo legati Lismorensis, qui caeteris ibidem dignitate tunc praeerat, ex industria redactis, constitutiones sacras, quae adhuc extant, de matrimoniis contrahendis, et decimis dandis, et ecclesiis debita devotione venerandis et frequentandis, quamplures emisit, ecclesiae illius statum ad Anglicanae ecclesiae formam redigere modis omnibus elaborando. Quas constitutiones *sub eisdem verbis, quibus et promulgatae sunt*, hic intersere non superfluum reputavi."

"Anno igitur Dominicae Incarnationis 1172, primo autem anno, quo illustrissimus Anglorum rex et Hiberniae triumphator ipsam insulam acquisivit, Christianus, Lismoriensis episcopus, et apostolicae sedis legatus, Donatus Cassiliensis, Laurentius Dubliniensis, et Catholicus Tuomenensis, archiepiscopi cum suffraganeis suis et coepiscopis, abbatibus quoque, archidiaconis, prioribus, et decanis, et multis aliis Hiberniensis ecclesiae praelatis, ex ipsius triumphatoris mandato, in civitate Cassiliensi convenerunt, et de utilitate ecclesiae, et statu ejus in meliorem formam producendo, ibidem concilium celebrarunt. Huic concilio interfuerunt isti a rege missi; venerabilis vir Radulphus, archidiaconus de Landaff, Nicolaus capellanus, et alii clerici, et nuncii domini regis.

Concillii autem statuta subscripta sunt, et regiae sublimitatis aucto-rite firmata. Primo statutum est, quod universi fideles per Hiberniam constituti, repudiato cognatorum et affinium contubernio, legitima contrahant matrimonia et observent. 2. Secundo, quod infantes ante fores ecclesiae catechizentur, et in sacro fonte in ipsis baptismalibus ecclesiis baptizentur. 3. Tertio, quod universi fideles Christi decimas animalium, frugum, caeterarumque proven- tionum ecclesiae, cujus fuerint parochiani, persolvant. 4. In quarto, quod omnes terrae ecclesiasticae et earum possessiones ab omnium secularium hominum exactione penitus sint immunes. Et specialiter, quod nec reguli, nec comites, nec aliqui potentes viri Hiberniae, nec eorum filii cum familiis suis cibaria et hospitalitates in territoriis ecclesiasticis, secundum consuetudinem, exigant, nec amodo violenter extorquere praesumant; et quod de villis ecclesi- arum cibus ille detestabilis, qui quater in anno a vicinis comitibus exigitur, de caetero nullatenus exigatur. 5. In quinto, quod pro homicidio a laicis perpetrato, quoties inde cum suis inimicis com- ponunt, clerici videlicet eorum cognati nihil inde persolvant, sed, sicut in homicidii perpetratione, sic in pecuniae solutione sint im- munes. 6. Sexto, quod universi fideles in infirmitate positi, con- fessore suo et vicinis astantibus, cum debita solennitate testamen- tum condant, bona sua mobilia, dummodo uxores et liberos ha- beant (aere alieno et servientum mercede exceptis) in tres partes dividant, unam liberis, alteram uxori legitimae, tertiam propriis exequiis relinquentes. Et si forte prolem legitimam non habuerint, bona ipsa inter ipsum et uxorem in duo media dividantur. Et si legitima uxor decesserit, inter ipsum et liberos bipartiri debent. 7. Septimo, ut cum bona confessione decedentibus et missarum et vigiliarum exhibitione et more sepeliendi obsequium debitum persolvatur. Item, quod omnia divina ad instar sacrosanctae Ec- clesiae, juxta quod Anglicana observat ecclesia, in omnibus par- tibus ecclesiae (Hiberniae) amodo tractentur." Wilkins has the whole of this *Concilia M. B. &c. Vol. 1. p. 472. seqq.*

(13) To his report of the decrees Giraldus added, (*ib. cap. 34.*) that it was worthy and most just, that Ireland should receive a better form of living from England; whereas to its magnanimous king she entirely owed whatever advantages she enjoyed both as to church and state; and that the manifold abuses, which had pre- vailed in Ireland, had since his coming gone into disuse. !!!

It is surprizing, that both Lyttelton and Leland have attributed this trash to the synod itself, notwithstanding its being self-evident from Giraldus' text, that it was not announced by the synod. Surely the synod could not, while sitting for the purpose of commencing the work of that mighty reform, have said, that the manifold abuses had gone into disuse, *in desuetudinem abiire*. Giraldus might have spoken so, as he did not write his tract until many years after the synod was held. Lyttleton and Leland, or whosoever they took their idea from, were aware of this difficulty, and accordingly translated the words, *in desuetudinem abiire* by *are now abolished*; meaning to insuate, that this was then done through the proceedings of the synod. But surely a schoolboy, who had not yet passed his Cordery, would not translate those three Latin words in that manner. Wilkins saw, that the passage in question was not a part of the acts of the synod, from which he consequently separated it; nor is it united with them by other authors, who have given a list of the synod's decrees, *ex. c.* Fleury, *L.* 72. §. 36.

§. iv. Here then we have the sum total of that great reform, which the Irish church stood in need of, and for attaining which the English pope Adrian made a grant of Ireland to Henry II. (14) There is nothing relative to religious dogmas, to matters of faith, or to points of essential discipline; and some of those decrees refer to matters rather of a political than of an ecclesiastical nature. Great attention was paid to the immunities and comforts of the clergy, Henry's policy leading him to favour as much as possible that body in Ireland, that he might draw them over to his party; although he had but a short time before been doing his utmost to curtail the privileges of their brethren in England. While he was so kind to the Irish clergy, he seemed to forget his stipulation concerning what Adrian had so much at heart, the payment of the *denarius* or Peter-pence out of every house in Ireland. There is not yet a word about it in the transactions of the synod; nor did Henry, as far as I

can find, ever set about enforcing the payment of it. The reasons for enacting the two first decrees have been most falsely and basely misrepresented by some English writers. They tell us, that the one relative to marriages was made in consequence of the Irish having been in the habit of marrying as many wives as they pleased. For this foul charge there is not the least foundation in any part of our church history; (15) and from the very words of the decree it is as clear as day-light, that the only object of it was to establish in Ireland the system of the seven prohibited degrees, as then followed by the greatest part of the Western church, but which it was not very long after found necessary to modify; (16) and the only abuse alluded to in the decree, consisted in the intermarriages between near relations. (17) As to the second decree, the intention and meaning of which are as plain as possible, *viz.* that children should henceforth be baptized not in private houses or even oratories, nor in chapels of ease, as seems to have been not unusual in Ireland, nor, in short, any where except in the parochial churches, or in such as were reputed baptismal churches, from their being furnished with baptismal fonts. (18) A most infamous fable has been fabricated, as if to explain the cause of said decree. It states, that before the holding of this synod it was customary in divers parts of Ireland, that, as soon as a child would come into the world, his father or any other person used to dip him three times in water, or if his father were rich, three times in milk; and that afterwards they used to throw that water or milk into the sewers or other unclean places. Were this stated as a custom, which had nothing to do with Christian baptism, and which was followed immediately on the birth of a child, there would, whether true or not, be no harm in it, but represented, as it has been, as the cause of the second Cashel decree, and consequently as the sort of baptism used in various parts of

Ireland, the account given of it is one of the most atrocious lies ever invented. (19) In the whole course of my inquiries I have not met with any the smallest allusion to errors or mistakes, even of the slightest kind, relative to the *matter*, as the theologians call it, of the sacrament of baptism; while, on the contrary, I have uniformly found water mentioned as the only liquid, in which it could be administered. (20) Perhaps the notion of baptizing in milk was taken from the Irish having probably retained the ancient practice of giving milk to the newly baptized, (21) which, as those ignorant calumniators did not understand the meaning of, they changed into actual baptism in milk. In that fable there is another vile insinuation, as if the Irish were careless about getting their children baptized by clergymen; whereas there never was a nation more observant and cautious than they were in this respect. (22)

(14) Leland remarks (*B. 1. ch. 3.*); “ Such was the plan of reformation, which required the interposition of the Pope, which obliged him to transfer the sovereignty of Ireland to a foreign prince, and demanded the presence of the English monarch and a royal army to enforce! As if the same futile ordinances had not been repeatedly enacted in every synod held almost annually by the Irish clergy from that of Paparo to this of king Henry.”

(15) Neither Lanfranc nor Anselm of Canterbury, who in their letters to Irish kings complain of the practice of the Irish marrying within the degrees prohibited by the then Canon law, and of that of exchanging wives; nor St. Bernard, even when (*Vit. S. Mal. cap. 6.*) railing against the abuses of the diocese of Connor, and where he touches on those relative to the matrimonial contract; nor Giraldus Cambrensis, although (*Topogr. Hib. Dist. 3. c. 19.*) he charges the Irish with not observing the more usual matrimonial contract, that is, the one called *de praesenti*, and with their not attending to the far extended prohibited degrees, as marked by the canonists of those days, ever accuse the Irish of the crime of polygamy, nor do they even hint at it. The first English writer,

who, as far as I can discover, advanced this vile falshood, is John Brompton, abbot of Iornal, or rather Iorval, a Cistercian monastery in the diocese formerly of York and afterwards of Chester. He wrote his chronicle, which may be seen among Twysden's x *Scriptores*, in the 14th century, during the reign of Edward III. In giving an account (*ib. col. 1071*) of the synod of Cashel, he does not follow the order of the decree nor the words, as detailed by Giraldus, but partly follows Hoveden. At the decree on marriage he introduces the calumny we are now treating of, and of which Hoveden makes no mention. His words are; "plerique enim illorum (Hibernorum) quot uxores volebant tot habebant, et etiam cognatas suas et *germanas* habere solebant uxores." Here he seems to go so far as to say, that the Irish used to marry even their sisters. Yet perhaps the blockhead meant in his bad Latin by *germanas* not sisters, but cousin germans.

(16) See *Chap. xxiv. §. 12.* and *xxvi. §. 6.* and *ib. Not. 51.*

(17) It was found difficult to put a stop to such intermarriages in Ireland on account of the system of clanships, and of the Irish laws relative to the right, by which landed property was held, and to the rules of succession thereto. On this subject see Ware, *Antiq. cap. 8.* and Harris, *ib. ch. 11.*

(18) Without recurring to the Apostolical age, it is well known that for, at least, the three or four first centuries of the Christian church baptism used to be performed in any place, where water was to be found, whether in the sea, or in a lake, pond, river, fountain, &c. Tertullian has made this observation, (*De Bapt. cap. 4.*) and we find it also in other writers of about his times. Afterwards baptisteries were erected near the churches, and it became a rule in the Roman empire that baptism should be ordinarily not administered except in them. Yet in St. Jerom's time priests and deacons did not scruple to confer baptism in villages, castles, or other places remote from the bishop's or principal church. (See *Dial. cum Lucifer. cap. 4.*) St. Patrick used to baptize his Irish converts in rivers, lakes, or fountains; and it is said in the Life of St. Finian of Clonard, (*cap. 2.*) that he was baptized in the water of two united rivers. Other instances might be adduced, if necessary. But the laws of the Roman empire did not extend to Ireland. The emperor Justinian enforced the rule relative to baptisteries, and some Greek councils, although not

early ones, exerted themselves to prevent the administration of baptism elsewhere, except in cases of necessity or by a special licence of the bishop. (See Bingham, *Origines*, &c. *B. xi. ch. 6. sect. 12. seqq.*) Baptistries were built also in the western parts of Europe, and are kept up to this day in many great cities of the continent. But the more general practice became, after the old discipline of baptizing only on certain solemn days of the year had ceased, that of placing baptismal fonts in all parochial and in some other churches, in which alone children should be ordinarily baptized. Even in Ireland the usual rule was, after Christianity became well established, that baptism should be performed in the churches. Thus in the case of St. Finian above mentioned, it is related, (*ib.*) that after his birth some women were carrying him to the church of Roscur to be there baptized by the bishop Forchern, when they were met by a St. Abban, who stopped them and baptized him, as already stated. And in the metrical Life of St. Senan of Inniscathy we read, (*cap. 3.*) that his parents took him to the church to be baptized: “*Parentes autem pueri,—ditati prole nobili,—ut religiosi admodum,—exortum recens parvulum—tulerunt ad ecclesiam,—ut per divinam gratiam—baptismi tinctus flumine,*” &c. Lynch observes (*Cambr. evers. p. 202.*) from the Life of St. Grillan, or Grellan, the patron of the O’Kellies, that the seniors of that family used to be baptized in a church called from this saint, who, by the bye, flourished at a place called Cradibh in Connaught, in the latter part of the 6th century, and had been a disciple of Finian of Clonard. (*AA. SS. p. 337, 339, 396.*) The very decree of the synod of Cashel indicates, that there were churches in Ireland supplied with baptismal fonts; but it seems that some negligence, how much diffused I cannot tell, prevailed with regard to bringing children thither for baptism, and that some parents used to get the ceremony performed in country chapels, or private oratories, or perhaps in their own houses, as is usual with us at this day. From the words of the decree it evidently appears, that this was the only defect or abuse to which the synod intended to apply a remedy. But Hoveden, to show his learning, made up a decree on baptism (see above §. 2. and *Not. 11.*) quite different from the genuine one, in which he introduces clean water, triple immersion, the name of the Father, &c. priests, &c. points, upon which there was no

question whatsoever proposed to or treated of by the synod, whereas there was not the least discrepancy of opinion or practice concerning them. The worthy Brompton in a sort of abridgment of Hoveden's farrago makes the synod resolve, "*pueros in ecclesia baptizari in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, et hoc a sacerdotibus fieri.*" This is far from being the real decree. As to catechizing the infants before the door of the church, this alludes to the practice, ordered in the Ritual, of proposing, previous to the baptism, certain questions at the church-door, which are answered, not indeed by the infant, but by the godfather.

(19) Brompton, besides some other English writers not worth naming, has given us, as the reason of the decree, that base stuff. He writes (*loc. cit.*); "*Mos enim erat prius per diversa loca Hiberniae quod, statim cum puer nasceretur, pater ipsius vel quilibet alius eum mergeret ter in aqua. Et si divitis filius esset, ter in lacte mergeretur. Postea vero aquam illam vel lac in cloacis suis vel aliis locis immundis projicere solebant.*" Had such a practice existed in Ireland, would it, not to appeal to all our Irish writers and documents, or to St. Bernard, or to Lanfranc and Anselm, have been unheard of by Hoveden and Giraldus, neither of whom makes the least allusion to it? I was greatly surprised to find Fleury (*L. 72. §. 38.*) repeating this nonsense. But he copied his account of the synod of Cashel from Brompton, and consequently has given us also his lie concerning the charge of polygamy. Fleury did not, in all appearance, see Giraldus' account of the synod, and was very little acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of Ireland. But I was still more surprized to observe, that Dr. Milner, who lives much nearer to us, and who ought to know more of our ecclesiastical history than Fleury, has, not very long ago, brought forward the same falshoods of Brompton against the Irish nation, when he states, (*Additional note to p. 50 of his Letters on Ireland*) that it was not until the English invasion that the Irish prelates were enabled to *abrogate the prevailing polygamy, incestuous marriages, the practice of baptizing the children of the rich with milk, &c.* Strange that he could imagine, that polygamy ever prevailed among the Irish Christians, or that their children were baptized in milk! As to their *incestuous marriages*, they were not such, except inasmuch as the system of the prohibited degrees, made up by the canon-

ists, had not been generally received in Ireland. I think Dr. Milner would do well to retract some way or other these unfounded assertions.

(20) Baptism is spoken of several times in the Irish canons; but in none of them is it ordered, that it should be performed in water alone, whereas there was no idea of any other liquid being sufficient for it. Adamnan relates, (*Vit. S. Col. L. 2. c. 10.*) that, when Columbkil was journeying through the country of the Picts, an infant was brought to him by its parents to be baptized, and that, as there was no water in the neighbourhood, the saint prayed for a while upon a rock and blessed a part of it, whence water immediately flowed out in abundance, with which he baptized the infant. So absolutely necessary was water considered for the administration of this sacrament.

(21) St. Jerom observes, (*in Esai. 55. 1.*) that milk and wine used to be given in the western churches to persons newly baptized; “*Lac significat innocentiam parvulorum. Qui mos a typus in Occidentis ecclesiis hodie usque servatur, ut renatis in Christo vinum lacque tribuatut.*” In some churches milk and honey used to be given to them. (See *Conc. Carth. 3. can. 24.*) It is not improbable, that like some other old practices, one or other of these ceremonies was kept up in Ireland.

(22) We have already seen (*Not. 18.*) the instances of St. Finian and St. Senan being sent to the church for baptism. St. Fursey was three days after his birth baptized by St. Brendan of Clonfert (*Vit. S. Furs. L. 1. c. 8.*): St. Fintan of Cluain-edneach on the eighth day by a holy man, and undoubtedly a clergyman, who lived in a place called *Cluain-mhic-treoin* (*Vit. S. Fint. c. 1.*): St. Laurence O'Toole by the bishop of Kildare (*Vit. S. L. c. 2.*) &c. &c. In the 24th and 27th of the canons, called of the synod of St. Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus, it is ordered, that no strange or newly introduced clergyman do baptize, or offer, *i. e.* to celebrate the holy mysteries, without the permission of the bishop. Hence it is clear, that the right of baptizing was supposed ordinarily to belong to the clergy.

§. v. It has been said that, after the synod was concluded, the king Henry sent to the Pope certain letters of all the archbishops and bishops of Ireland

recognizing Henry's power over Ireland. (23) This much may be admitted, that some time later (24) he sent to Rome a copy of those wonderful decrees, and very probably, as may be concluded from the brief of Alexander III., (of which hereafter) a certain account of Irish practices, such as might induce the Pope to favour his views. After all, said decrees produced no effect in Ireland, and were disregarded by the Irish clergy and people, who looked only to their own ecclesiastical rules, as if the synod of Cashel had never been held. (25) Henry left Dublin early in February of the same year 1172, and went to Wexford. Being there he received, about the middle of Lent, some very pressing news from Normandy, relative to the affair of Thomas Becket, which required his departure for that country as soon as conveniently possible. Accordingly he sailed from Wexford on the following Easter Monday, (26) which fell on the 17th of April, and arrived on the same day at Port-Finnan in South Wales. In this year a provincial synod was held at Tuam by the archbishop Cadla O'Dubhai; but nothing is recorded of its proceedings, except that on this occasion three churches were consecrated. (27) It must have been after the synod of Cashel, and probably was assembled at the time of the primate Gelasius' visitation of Connaught. (28) In said year died the holy bishop of Cork, Gilla Aeda O'Mugin, (29) who had assisted at the council of Kells. He was succeeded by one Gregory. To the same year are assigned the deaths of O'Meicstia or O'Meicselbe, bishop of Emly; (30) Brigdin O'Cathlan, bishop of Ferns, who is named after some other bishops of that see, whose precise times are not known, and who appears to have resigned several years before his death; (31) and Tigernach O'Maeleoin of Clonmacnois, (32) who was rather an abbot than a bishop. Melruan O'Ruadan, bishop of Achonry, one of the prelates of the synod of Kells, had died in 1170; and another equally

eminent prelate, Peter O'Mordai, bishop of Clonfert, who had been the first abbot of Boyle, was drowned in the Shannon on the 27th of December, *A.* 1171. Peter O'Mordai was succeeded by Moeliosa Mac-Award, who held the see only a short time, as he died in 1173. (33) About these times, and apparently before the arrival of Henry II. in Ireland, Donald O'Brian, king of North Munster, erected the great cathedral of Cashel adjoining Cormac's Chapel, which thenceforth was used as a vestry or chapter-house. He endowed this church, and granted lands to the see. (34) To the year 1173 is assigned the death of Kinad O'Ronan, bishop of Glendaloch, who had been one of the witnesses to the foundation charter of the priory of All Saints in Dublin. (35) Muredach O'Cohtaich, who had been bishop of Kinel-eogain, or Ardsrath, at the time of the council of Kells, (36) and afterwards bishop of Derry, is said to have died in the same year, or in the following, on the 10th of February. He became bishop of this see through the resignation, some years earlier, of Flathbert O'Brolcan the first ordinary bishop of Derry. (37) Muredach had been an Augustin Canon, and was highly esteemed for his learning, humility, and charity to the poor. He has been called bishop also of Raphoe; but this is a mistake, whereas the then bishop of Raphoe was Gilbert O'Caran. (38)

(23) Hoveden has this story (*loc. cit.*); but Giraldus says nothing about such letters, or their having been sent to Rome. Hoveden absurdly supposed, that these letters were written at Waterford. See above *Not.* 3.

(24) Owing to the tempestuous weather that prevailed during the winter of 1171 coming 1172, and part of the following spring, Henry could have no communication with Rome, nor had he any for some months even with England or his other dominions.

(25) This is plain from Giraldus, who speaking (*Topogr. Hib. Dist.* 3. c. 19.) of the Irish practices followed in his days, several years after the synod of Cashel, says, that tithes were not paid,

and that marriages were not contracted, that is, according to the usage of England, &c. It is true, that elsewhere he mentions a great alteration for the better, owing to the measures of Henry. (See above *Not.* 13.) But this must be taken either as a flourish in favour of Henry, or may be understood of the state and system of the diocese of Dublin as it was under John Comin, an Englishman, during whose incumbency Giraldus was in Ireland.

(26) Giraldus says, (*Hib. exp. L. 1. c. 37.*) *Paschali luce secunda*, that is, of the year 1172. Leland, who erroneously places (*B. 1. c. 3.*) Henry's departure in 1173, had no right to refer in the margin to Giraldus, who does not there mention *A.* 1173; while, on the contrary, it is evident from his whole context, that the Easter Monday was in 1172, the year marked also by Hoveden, and several old writers, as also by Ware (*Annals*) Lyttleton, &c. &c. The fact is, that Henry must have left Ireland in 1172, whereas nothing can be more certain than that he arrived in Normandy in May of that year; that it was in said year that he was absolved there by the Pope's legates from the censures incurred in consequence of the murder of Thomas Becket; and that he was present at the synod of Avranches, which met in that year on the 27th of September. (See Fleury, *L. 72. §. 39. seqq.*)

(27) Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1172, and Harris, *Archbishops of Tuam* at *Catholicus O'Dubhai*.

(28) See above §. 2.

(29) Ware and Harris, *Bishops* at *Cork*. For this worthy prelate see Chap. xxvii. §. 8.

(30) *Ib.* at *Emly*.

(31) Harris, *ib.* at *Ferns*.

(32) Ware and Harris, *ib.* at *Clonmacnois*. I find no proof of his having been a bishop, except his being called *comerban* of *St. Kieran*. But he might have been only an abbot; for *St. Kieran* had not been a bishop. And it is much more probable, that this was the case, because *Moriertach O'Moeluidhir*, the bishop of *Clonmacnois*, who assisted at the synod of *Kells*, lived until 1188; and there is no necessity for supposing with Ware, that he resigned his see long before his death.

(33) Ware and Harris, *ib.* at *Achonry* and *Clonfert*.

(34) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 29. at *Cashel*, and Harris, *Archbishops of Cashel*.

(35) See Harris, *Bishops at Glendaloch*. Compare with *Chap. xxviii. §. 10.*

(36) *Not.* 100. to *Chap. xxvii.*

(37) For Flathbert see *Chap. xxviii. §. 5.*

(38) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Derry*. Hoveden calls Muredach *Mauritius Charensis epis.* instead of *Darensis*.

§. vi. The great and truly excellent and holy primate Gelasius, having returned to Armagh from his last visitations in Connaught and Ulster, remained there preparing for eternity, until God was pleased to call him to himself on the 27th of March A. D. 1174, in the 87th year of his age after an active and exemplary incumbency of 28 years. (39) He was succeeded by Conchovar or Conor, *alias* Cornelius, Mac-Conchailleadh, abbot of the Augustin Canons monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul of Armagh, who went to Rome on some ecclesiastical business, and died there in 1175. (40) Patrick O'Bainan, who had been bishop of Connor, and one of the prelates of the council of Kells, a man highly praised for his sanctity, died in 1174 in the island of Hy, whither he had retired apparently some years before his death; for one Nehemias is mentioned as the actual bishop of Conor at the time of king Henry's arrival in Ireland, that is, in the latter part of 1171. (41) To the same year 1174 some assign the death of Ethru O'Miadachain, bishop of Clonard, which others place in 1173. (42) In some lists of the members of the council of Kells this prelate is reckoned among them. (43) In said year 1174 died also Moeliosa O'Connachtain, bishop of East Connaught, that is, I believe, of the united dioceses of Elphin and Roscommon, who had assisted at the now mentioned council. (44) This was also the year of the death of a very holy man, St. Gilda-Machaibeo or Mochaibeo, whose name has been latinized into *Machabeus*. (45) He was born in 1102, and became in all appearance a disciple of the blessed Imar, the master and director of

St. Malachy. It is certain that, after having been for some time a Canon Regular of St. Augustin in the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul of Armagh, he was appointed abbot of it, probably soon after the death of Imar, which occurred at Rome in 1134. (46) There is reason to think, that he did not hold that situation until his death. (47) He died on the 31st of March, and the Irish hagiologists represent him as a man of superior piety, learning, and wisdom. (48) An illustrious professor of the school of Armagh, and its chief director, Florence Gorman, who had studied for twenty-one years in France and England, and afterwards taught in his own country for twenty years longer, died about the same time in the same year. (49)

(39) *AA. SS. Vit. S. Gel. cap. 30. and Tr. Th. p. 310.* Giraldus says, (*Hib. exp. L. 1. c. 34.*) that Gelasius lived entirely on the milk of a cow, which used to be driven before him wherever he went. For *entirely* read *chiefly*.

(40) *Tr. Th. p. ib.* Ware says, (*Archbishops of Armagh*) that he died in 1175 or 1176. I suppose he had no reason for adding *or 1176*, except his thinking, that the old mode of anticipating the Christian era, followed in some Irish annals, was still continued. But it had ceased to prevail long before these times.

(41) See *Tr. Th. p. 501.* and Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Connor*.

(42) Ware compared with Harris, *ib. at Meath*.

(43) See *Not. 100. to Chap. xxvii.*

(44) Ware and Harris, *ib. at Elphin*. Compare with *Not. 106. to Chap. xxvii.*

(45) His name is in the Irish calendars, and Colgan treats of him at 31 March.

(46) See *Chap. xxvi. §. 15.*

(47) We have just seen, that Ware calls Conchovar, who succeeded Gelasius in the see of Armagh *A. D. 1174*, abbot of St. Peter and St. Paul at the time of his being appointed to it. How then could Machabeus, who survived Gelasius by four days, have been then abbot, if Conchovar was the real one? The matter

may be easily settled by supposing, that, if Ware be right, Machabeus had some time previous resigned the abbacy.

(48) Marian Gorman, his contemporary, styles him, as quoted by Colgan, a tower of piety and meekness, an ark of wisdom and science, &c. Others speak of him in a similar manner.

(49) *Tr. Th. p.* 310.

§. vii. In 1175 Henry II. sent Nicholas, prior of Wallingford, afterwards abbot of Malmesbury, and William Fitz-Adelm to Ireland with the bull of Adrian IV. and the confirmatory brief, which Alexander III. had sent some time before to Henry. (50) On their arrival a meeting of bishops was held at Waterford, in which those precious documents were publicly read. (51) This was the first time that they were so in Ireland; and, although Henry undoubtedly had Adrian's bull in his hands, when he was in Ireland, he thought it unadvisable to announce it publicly. He knew, that not only the whole drift of it, but likewise certain unfounded aspersions contained in it would have caused great irritation among both the clergy and laity. But now, owing to the precarious state of his power in Ireland, he found himself obliged to recur to the Papal authority, thinking that he might by this means secure the obedience of the clergy, whom he imagined he had already brought over in great part to his side by some of the decrees of his synod of Cashel, and through whom he expected to counteract the opposition of the Irish princes and people to his authority. After his departure there was much fighting in Ireland between the natives and the foreigners. A grant, which he had made of Meath to Hugh de Lacy, (52) being contrary to the interests of Tiernan O'Ruarc, under whose government a considerable part of that great territory had been placed, gave rise to a dispute, which was near terminating in open hostilities. To prevent this mischief some friends of both parties brought about a conference between O'Ruarc and Lacy. They met some time in 1172,

on a hill not far from Dublin, each accompanied by a small and equal number of their adherents. But before the conference was concluded O'Ruarc was killed by Griffin, a nephew of Maurice Fitzgerald, who was present and who excited him to this act. The apology set up by writers of their faction for this dreadful deed is, that O'Ruarc had previously aimed a blow against Lacy. Whether this be true or not, this is not the place to inquire. The head of O'Ruarc was then cut off, and placed over a gate in Dublin, and his body hung, with the feet upwards, on a gallows. In this year Lacy ravaged Annaly, and killed Donald O'Ferrall its king or chieftain. Early in the following year Strongbow invaded Ophaly, whose chieftain was O'Dempsey, and burned and plundered some towns; but on this occasion he lost his son-in-law Robert de Quincey, constable of Leinster, who was attacked in a defile by O'Dempsey, and slain with many of his knights and the loss of the banner of Leinster. (53)

(50) This brief may be seen in Usher's *Sylloge*, No. 47, taken from the genuine and correct text of Giraldus (*Hib. exp. L. 2. c. 6.*) Lynch (*Cambr. evers. p. 197.*) argues from its not being in the Roman Bullarium, that it is a forgery; but this and some other exceptions of his are of as little avail as his arguments against the authenticity of Adrian's bull. It confirms the grant made by Adrian under the former condition of the payment of the Peterpence; and Alexander wishes, that, on eradicating the dirty practices of Ireland, the nation may through Henry's exertions become polished, and its church be brought to a better form. He seems to have known nothing of the state of the Irish church, except what he heard from the lying accounts of the enemies of Ireland; and as to ecclesiastical or other dirt I believe he might in those times have found enough of it, and I fear more, nearer home, without looking for it in this country. I dare say he would have been hard set to meet with, in any equal portion of the Church of that period, so many excellent bishops as Gelasius, Laurence

O'Toole, Christian of Lismore, Catholicus of Tuam, &c. There is nothing in the brief concerning any letters or other papers sent by Irish archbishops and bishops to the Pope; (see above §. 5.) and the only authority alleged for Henry's right to Ireland is the Bull of Adrian.

(51) Giraldus (*loc. cit.*) Ware, *Annals* at A. 1175. Lyttelton, &c. &c. I do not understand, why Leland (*B. 1. ch. 4.*) places this meeting of the clergy at Waterford, the arrival of Nicholas of Wallingford, whom he calls simply *Wallingford*, and the reading of Adrian's bull, &c. so late as A. 1177. I am sure he is wrong; but I shall not tire the reader with a disputation on this subject.

(52) The charter of this grant is in Ware's *Antiquities*, cap. 27.

(53) Ware, *Annals* at A. 1172. Lyttelton, B. 4, &c.

§. VIII. In 1173 confederacies were formed in Ireland for the purpose of driving out the Anglo-Normans, who dissatisfied with Hervey de Monte Marisco, whom Strongbow had placed over the army, after the death of De Quincey, called out for Raymond le Grose as their commander. Strongbow having complied with their wish, Raymond set about plundering the Desies, took Lismore which he pillaged, and sent a great part of his united spoil by water towards Waterford. The vessels, in which it was contained, were met at the mouth of the river Blackwater by a Danish fleet from Cork, and a combat ensued, in which the Danes were worsted. Meanwhile Raymond defeated a body of the Irish, who had been sent to Lismore by Dermot Mac-Carthy, king of Desmond, and then marched to Waterford, driving along a great number of cattle. Not long after in a fit of disgust he returned to Wales. (54) The command of the army now devolved on Hervey de Monte Marisco, who in the following year, 1174, wishing to signalize himself, obtained permission from Strongbow to invade the territories of Donald O'Brian, king of North Munster. This was granted to him, and Strongbow himself went to Cashel,

where he expected reinforcements from Dublin. The corps under Hervey was attacked all of a sudden, early on a morning, near Thurles (55) by Donald O'Brian, and 400 of them, or, according to another account, (56) 700, together with four of their chief leaders, were put to the sword, while the remainder fled to Waterford, whither Strongbow also hastened his return, and shut himself up in the city as if it were besieged. For the whole country was, on the news of O'Brian's success, filled with Irish armies, which withdrew their allegiance from Henry. Roderic O'Conor soon after entered Meath with a great force, and ravaged the whole country, which Hugh de Lacy had parcelled out among his friends and soldiers. Hugh Tirrel, who acted for Lacy, then in England, finding that he would not be able to defend the castle of Trim, demolished the fortifications, burned it, as he did also that of Duleek, and escaped with his soldiers to Dublin. While the affairs of the foreigners were in this perilous state, Reymond was persuaded to return to Ireland, and arrived with his cousin german Milo, or Meyler, and 30 other knights, all of his own kindred, besides 100 cavalry and 300 infantry, in the harbour of Waterford at a very critical moment. At that time a general insurrection of the Danes of Waterford was breaking out; but Reymond was able to rescue Strongbow from their fury, and conducted him to Wexford. Afterwards they put to death all the Anglo-Normans they met with in the streets or elsewhere, until at length terms were agreed upon between them and the garrison. Reymond then marched towards Meath against Roderic O'Conor, who hearing of his approach returned to Connaught. (57) In the succeeding year 1175 Reymond, assisted by Donald prince of Ossory, undertook the siege of Limerick, in order to enrich his army with the plunder of that city, and probably in revenge for the victory gained by Donald O'Brian near Thurles.

But it would lead me too far to enter into a detail of this siege and its consequences.

(54) Ware, *ib.* at *A.* 1173. Lyttelton, *ib.* &c. &c.

(55) Lyttelton was wrong in placing this battle in Ossory.

(56) Annals of Innisfallen.

(57) Ware, *ib.* at *A.* 1174. Lyttelton, &c. &c.

§. ix. While matters were going in this manner, Henry perceived that it was not an easy task to subdue the Irish nation, and, considering the delicate state of his affairs both in Great Britain and France, first strove to render their clergy subservient to him by means of the Papal decrees, which he got read at Waterford, as we have seen above. He knew, however, that something more was wanting to bring over the laity, and accordingly was anxious to compromise his disputes with the Irish princes, particularly Roderic O'Connor. Things were managed in such a manner, that Roderic sent over, to negotiate in his name with Henry, three ambassadors, Catholicus archbishop of Tuam, Concors abbot of St. Brendan's of Clonfert, and Laurence his chancellor. They waited on the king at Windsor about Michaelmas of this year 1175, and within the octave of that festival a great council was held there, (58) in which the following articles were agreed upon. Roderic was to be still a king, but as holding under Henry, and was to retain his hereditary territories as firmly and peaceably as he had possessed them before Henry's arrival in Ireland. He was likewise to have under his superintendence and jurisdiction the other kings, princes, &c. of the rest of Ireland, with the exception of some parts, and was bound to make them pay, through his hands, their tribute to the king of England. These kings &c. were not to be disturbed as to the possession of their principalities, as long as they remained faithful to Henry and obedient to Roderic. But in case they failed in either

point, or refused to pay the tribute, Roderic was authorized to judge of their proceedings, and, if requisite, to deprive them of their power and possessions; and, should his own power not be sufficient for that purpose, he was to be assisted by the English king's constable and his other servants and soldiers. The tribute to be paid by Roderic and the Irish at large was very trifling, consisting only of a hide for every tenth head of cattle killed in Ireland. This agreement and the extent of Roderic's power were not, however, to comprehend all Ireland; for the king reserved to himself or to his barons Dublin and its appurtenances, all Meath and Leinster, besides Waterford and the country thence to Dungarvan included. There were some minor articles, which, as I am not writing a civil history of Ireland, it would be out of my line to give a detail of. (59) One of the witnesses to this treaty was St. Laurence O'Toole, who had come over to England concerning certain affairs of his church, some time before the arrival of Roderic's ambassadors. In the same council or assembly Henry exercised the first act of his authority as to the appointment of Irish bishops by naming to the see of Waterford, which happened to be then vacant, (probably by the death of Tostius, who had assisted at the synod of Kells) one Augustin an Irishman, who is styled *master*, and whom, as St. Laurence was about returning to Ireland, he sent in his company to be consecrated by Donald, archbishop of Cashel. (60) On this occasion the king acted very judiciously; 1. by not placing a foreigner over the church of Waterford; and 2. by not getting Augustin consecrated in England, but directing him, as the canons required, to the metropolitan, whose suffragan he was to become.

(58) Hoveden says (at *A.* 1175.) that the agreement between the kings Henry and Roderic was made *in octavis S. Michaelis*, which may be understood of the Octave of Michaelmas, that is,

the 6th of October, or of some day within the Octave. The blundering translator of Ware's Annals at said year has englified Hoveden's words by 8th of October, probably not understanding the meaning of the word *Octave*, and for *Catholicus*, &c. he has the *Catholic bishop of Tuam*. Harris (at *Archbishops of Tuam, Catholicus*) instead of *Concors* writes *Canthred*.

(59) The whole treaty is in Hoveden's Annals at A. 1175. See also Lyttelton, B. 4.

(60) Hoveden writes; (*ib.*) "*In eodem vero concilio dedit rex Angliæ magistro Augustino Hybernensi episcopatum Waterfordiæ, qui tunc vacabat in Hybernia. Et misit eum in Hyberniam cum Laurentio Diviliniae archiepiscopo, ad consecrandum a Donato Cassiliensi archiepiscopo.*"

§. x. It was in the same year 1175, and some time before the now mentioned assembly was held, that St. Laurence was near being killed at Canterbury. Having gone thither to wait upon the king, who was there at that time, he was received with great respect by the monks, and after a night spent in imploring the suffrages of the martyr St. Thomas Becket, prepared at their request to celebrate mass on the following morning. As he was proceeding to the altar, dressed in his pontificals, a certain madman, who had heard that he was a holy man, took it into his head that it would be a good act to give him the crown of martyrdom and make him another St. Thomas. Accordingly he seized upon a large club, and rushing through the crowd, struck him with all his might a violent blow on the head, which made him fall near the altar. The monks and the people much aggrieved thought, that he was mortally wounded. But after a little time lifting up his head, the saint called for some water, over which he said the Lord's prayer, and having blessed it with the sign of the Cross, desired the wound to be washed with it. This done, the flowing of the blood ceased, the wound was healed, and he celebrated mass. On the king's ordering that the mad-

man should be hanged, St. Laurence interceded for him, and with difficulty obtained his pardon. (61)

In this year died at a very advanced age Moeliosa (whom some call *Malachy*) Mac-Inclericuir, the immediate successor of the great St. Malachy in the see of Down, and who was one of the prelates of the council of Kells. He was succeeded by Gilladomnai (called *Gelasius*) Mac-Cormac, who died in the course of said year, and after whom was appointed another Malachy. (62) In the same, or in the following year Gillacomida (called also *Gilbert*) O'Caran was removed from the see of Raphoe to that of Armagh, in the room of Conchobar Mac-Conchailleadh, who died at Rome. (63) He was bishop of Raphoe at the time of the foundation of the Cistercian monastery of Newry, to the charter of which he was one of the witnesses, under the title of bishop of Tir-conail, in which territory Raphoe is situated. He was bishop there also when Henry II. arrived in Ireland. (64) Flathbert O'Brolcan, who some years before had resigned the see of Derry, (65) and afterwards retained only the government of the monastery of Derry, having refused that of Hy, died in said year 1175, and was buried in that monastery, leaving a great reputation for wisdom and liberality. He was succeeded in the monastery by Gelasius O'Branain. (66)

(61) *Vit. S. Laurent. cap. 19.* The author states, that this transaction was attested by a person, who was present.

(62) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Down.*

(63) Above §. 6.

(64) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Armagh and Raphoe.* Gilbert of Raphoe is mentioned in Hoveden's list of Irish sees. For his signature to the charter of Newry see *Not. 34. to Chap. xxviii.*

(65) Above §. 5.

(66) *Tr. Th.* p. 505. and Ware, *Annals* at A. 1175, and *Bishops* at Derry.

§. XI. About these times Strongbow founded a priory for knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, called at a much later period Knights of Malta, at Kilmainham near Dublin, which foundation was confirmed by Henry II. (67) That place had been anciently called *Kill-magnend* from St. Magnend, who was abbot there in the early part of the seventh century, and who is said to have been a son of Aidus, prince of Orgiell, who died in 606 (607). St. Magnend's name is in the Irish calendars at 18 December. (68) Strongbow died about the beginning of June A. D. 1176, and his body was kept unburied until Reymond, whom his wife Basilea, sister of Strongbow, had sent for in all haste, arrived in Dublin. It was then, under the direction of St. Laurence O'Toole, solemnly interred in the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity, *alias* Christ-church. Strongbow left, by his wife Eva, daughter of Dermot Mac-Murrough, a daughter, named Isabel, who was afterwards married to William Mareschal, earl of Pembroke. (69) The king, on hearing of Strongbow's death, sent over to Ireland, as his deputy or lieutenant, William Fitz-Adelm, and together with him John de Courcey, Robert Fitz-Stephen, and Milo de Cogan, who were to act under him. In the beginning of September of the same year Maurice Fitzgerald died at Wexford leaving three sons, William, Gerald, and Alexander. From Maurice are descended all the noble and illustrious families of the Fitzgeralds in Ireland. Soon after the death of Strongbow, and before the arrival of Fitz-Adelm, Melaghlin Mac-Loghlin, an Ulster prince, attacked and demolished the castle of Slane, on which occasion Richard Fleming, the owner or governor of it, was, together with many others, put to the sword, none

of the princes of Ulster at this time recognizing the sovereignty of the king of England. (70)

To this year 1176, and to the first of January, some accounts assign the death of Malachy O'Brin, or O'Byrne, bishop of Kildare. (71) It is related, that St. Laurence once ordered him to undertake the cure of a lady, who was mad and possessed with an evil spirit, but that he declined the task, saying that he was not of sufficient merit to be able to expel devils. (72) He was succeeded by Nehemias, who held the see for about 18 years. (73) In 1177 Charles O'Buacalla, abbot of Mellifont, became bishop of Emly, and died in less than a month after. (74) Who was his immediate predecessor is not known; for he could not have been O'Meiestia, who died in 1172. (75) Imar O'Ruadan, bishop of Killybegs, or of Hua-Fiachra, died also in 1177. (76)

(67) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Dublin*.

(68) *AA. SS.* p. 584 and 713. Archdall says, (at *Kilmainham*) that Magnend was abbot of Kill-magnend in 606; but Colgan merely states, that this was the year of his father's death.

(69) Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1176.

(70) See Ware, *ib.* and Lyttleton, *B.* 5.

(71) See Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Kildare*. Colgan, (*Tr. Th.* p. 630.) erroneously calling him *O'Brian*, places his death in 1175, and so do, as Harris observes, the *Annals of Leinster*.

(72) *Vita S. Laur. cap.* 28. Harris pretends, (*loc. cit.*) that O'Brin was right in making this excuse, if what *historians*, as he pompously calls them, say of him be true. But these *historians* of Harris are only Giraldus, (*Hib. exp. L.* 1. *cap.* 25.) who is well known to have told or repeated a great number of falsehoods. The story is, that, when Fitz-Stephen was in the year 1171 besieged in Carig near Wexford by Donald, an illegitimate son of Dermot Mac-Morrogh, and the Dances of Wexford, O'Brin, and O'Hethe, bishop of Ferns, perjured themselves to make Fitz-Stephen believe, that Dublin was taken by the Irish, and all the foreigners destroyed, in consequence of which Fitz-Stephen and

his party surrendered. This is evidently a fable patched up to apologize for Fitz-Stephen's having given up himself and his garrison, together with the fortress. Ware, treating of this affair, (*Annal.* at *A.* 1171) shews, that he did not believe Giraldus, whose tract he had before his eyes; for he merely states, without mentioning any bishop, that the besiegers had spread a report, that Dublin was taken, and Strongbow and his army there cut to pieces. In fact, there were very strong grounds for such a report; whereas, had Roderic O'Connor and the Irish acted with more caution and ability, the foreigners then in Dublin might have been all exterminated. (See *Chap.* xxviii. §. 15.) Add, that Ware, giving an account (*Bishops*) of those two prelates, has not a word of that story; and it was reserved for Harris to foist the slanderous tale into that honest writer's works.

(73) Ware, *Bishops* at *Kildare*. (74) *Ib.* at *Emly*.

(75) Above, §. 5. (76) Ware, *Bishops* at *Killala*.

§. XII. In the same year 1177 Malachy, the new bishop of Down, was taken prisoner by John de Courcey, but at the request of Vivian, Cardinal Priest of the title of St. Stephen in Monte Coelio, was soon after restored to his liberty and see. De Courcey, wishing to give some employment to the Anglo-Norman troops, and to provide for their wants, had, in spite of the deputy Fitz-Adelm's orders, set out early in this year (77) from Dublin with a select body of them, joined by some Irish, and by a quick march of three or four days arrived unexpectedly at Downpatrick, the capital of Ulidia, or Ullagh, and at that time an open unfortified place. Mac-Dunlevy, its king, being unprepared for this attack, withdrew from the town. Cardinal Vivian, the Pope's legate for Scotland and the neighbouring islands, and also for Ireland, happened to be then at Downpatrick, having arrived there a short time before from the Isle of Mann, and where he was treated with great respect. He endeavoured to mediate a peace between Mac-Dunlevy and De Courcey, and proposed that the latter with his troops

should quit the country on condition of the former paying tribute to king Henry. De Courcey being quite averse to this agreement, the Cardinal, vexed at his unjust conduct, went to Mac-Dunlevy and exhorted him to take arms in defence of his territories. This prince soon collected an army, it is said, of 10,000 men, and marched to attack the invaders. De Courcey and his men went out to meet them, and after a hard fought battle gained a victory. The Cardinal took refuge in a Church, but was protected by De Courcey, who also granted him the freedom of the bishop Malachy, who in the pursuit of the Ulidians had fallen into the enemy's hands. After this Vivian went to Dublin, and held there a synod of bishops and abbots, in which setting forth Henry's right to the sovereignty of Ireland in virtue of the Pope's authority, he inculcated the necessity of obedience to him under pain of excommunication. He allowed the foreigners liberty to take whatever victuals they might want, in their expeditions, out of the churches, into which, as sanctuaries, the Irish used to remove them; merely ordering, that a reasonable price should be paid for them to the rectors of such churches. (78) Thus he atoned for his former attention to Mac-Dunlevy. While Vivian was in Dublin, William Fitz-Adelm founded, by order of Henry II. the celebrated abbey of St. Thomas the martyr (Becket) for Canons Regular of the order of St. Victor, near Dublin, on the site now called Thomas-court, for the good of the souls of Geoffrey, count of Anjou father of the king, of the empress his mother, and his ancestors, of the king himself and of his sons. Fitz-Adelm made over to it, on the king's part, in the presence of the Cardinal and of St. Laurence O'Toole, a piece of land called *Donower* or *Donore*. This abbey became in course of time most splendidly endowed. (79) The synod being ended, Vivian

passed over to Chester, and soon after returned to Scotland. (80)

(77) Colgan was hugely mistaken (*Tr. Th.* p. 108.) in assigning John de Courcey's first arrival in Ireland to *A. D.* 1185. He misunderstood a passage of Usher, who says, (*Pr.* p. 889.) that Count John came to Ireland in that year. But Usher meant not John de Courcy, but John, earl of Morton, and son of Henry II. who was afterwards king John, as appears also from his *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 1185.

(78) See Giraldus, *Hib. exp. L.* 2. c. 17. Ware, *Annals at A.* 1177. Lyttleton, *B.* 5.

(79) See Ware, *ib.* and *Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Dublin*. The charter for this foundation may be seen, from an *inspeximus*, in the *Monast. Angl. Vol.* 2. p. 1039. It is also in Leland's *History*, *B.* 1. *ch.* 5. Archdall (at *Dublin, Abbey of St. Thomas*) has egregiously bungled this business. According to him the abbey had been founded by Fitz-Adelm as early as *A.* 1172, and he tells us, that somebody was prior there between 1172 and 1175; and why? Because that somebody was a witness to a charter granted by John de Courcy to the priory of St. Patrick in Down. The poor man seems not to have known, that Fitz-Adelm was not Henry's deputy in Ireland, and consequently could not have founded the Abbey of St. Thomas before 1176. And as to what he says about St. Patrick's of Down, it was not until 1177 that De Courcey had any thing to do with Down, nor until 1183 that he gave the name of St. Patrick to a church in that town. Then he assigns the grant of Donore to 1178, as if said grant were not at the time of the foundation of the abbey, or as if St. Vivian had not left Ireland in 1177 soon after the conclusion of the synod of Dublin.

(80) Ware, *Annals at A.* 1177. It is strange, that Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) assigns to *A.* 1186 Vivian's synod of Dublin and his return to Scotland, on occasion of which it has been said, that he left Ireland less loaded with Irish gold than he wished. For this was said relatively to his departure in 1177. (See Fleury, *L.* 72. §. 59.)

§. XIII. At this time a great dissension prevailed

between Roderic O'Connor and his eldest son Murtach or Morrogh, who fled to Dublin and excited Fitz-Adelm to make war on his father, offering to conduct into the heart of Connaught the army to be employed on this occasion. Although it does not appear, that Roderic had in any wise violated the treaty solemnly entered into with king Henry, or had given any provocation to the English government, Fitz-Adelm basely availed himself of that unnatural son's treason, hoping to add Connaught to Henry's possessions in Ireland. Accordingly he dispatched in said year 1177 Milo de Cogan, with a considerable army of knights, cavalry, and archers, who crossed the Shannon, and advanced without meeting any opposition, as far as Tuam, which, it seems, they set fire to. (81) Throughout the whole country they found no provisions, as they were either concealed in places where they could not be discovered, or had been carried away or destroyed, the inhabitants having retired with their families and cattle to inaccessible woods or to the mountains. Cogan and his army were thus reduced almost to starvation, and forced to set out again for Dublin, without having gained any advantage; but on their return, and after eight days marching in Connaught, they were attacked in a wood near the Shannon by Roderic and the Connacians, and suffered considerable loss. (82) Murtach was taken in the action, and the Connacians, not one of whom had joined him on his entrance into their country, sentenced him, with the consent of his father, to have his eyes put out, which was accordingly done. (83) Some time in May of this year Henry held a parliament at Oxford, in which he declared his son John king of Ireland, having obtained permission to do so from Pope Alexander III. This is not the place to inquire into the extent of power or territories in Ireland, which Henry meant to confer upon John; but this much I may remark, that John was

not styled *king* of Ireland, his title being *lord* of Ireland and *earl* of Morton. (84) Afterwards, and in the same year, he made a grant to Robert Fitz-Stephen and Milo de Cogan of the kingdom of Cork, that is, of Desmond, to hold under himself and his son John, and their heirs, except the city of Cork and the adjoining cantred, which Henry retained in his own hands, but of which Fitz-Stephen and Cogan were to have the custody for him. (85) This grant was of no great service to them; for in spite of it they got possession of only a small part of that kingdom, and two years afterwards were glad to put up with, between them both, seven cantreds near the city, while 24 cantreds remained out of their and Henry's power. (86) A similar sort of grant, rather nominal than real, was some time after made of the kingdom of North-Munster by Henry to Philip de Breuse, who, notwithstanding the king's writ, and the assistance of Fitz-Stephen and Cogan, never acquired an inch of it, and got so frightened that he and his Welchmen thought it their best plan to return home. (87) And it will be seen, that the brave Donald O'Brian, who lived for several years after these times, retained his kingdom until the day of his death.

(81) A conflagration of Tuam in 1177 is mentioned in the Irish annals. (See *Tr. Th.* p. 634.)

(82) Giraldus pretends, that of Cogan's party only three men were killed; but, as Ware observes, the Irish annals give a different account of the matter.

(83) Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1177. Lyttleton *B.* 5. Leland, *B.* 1. *ch.* 4.

(84) See Ware, *ib.* and *Antiq. cap.* 27. Hoveden and Brompton have the name *king*; but this was not John's real title.

(85) Henry's charter for this grant is in Ware's *Antiquities*, *cap.* 27. See also the *Annals* at *A.* 1177.

(86) See Giraldus, (*Hib. exp.* *L.* 2. *c.* 18.) and from him Ware, (*loc. cit.*) who is copied by Smith, *History of Cork*, *B.* 1. *ch.* 1.

Lyttleton was quite wrong (*B.* 5.) in supposing that Fitz-Stephen and Cogan divided between them the whole kingdom of Desmond, with merely the exceptions mentioned in Henry's charter.

(87) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 27. and *Annals* at *A.* 1179. Lyttleton, *loc. cit.* and Ferrar, *History of Limerick*, part 2. *ch.* 2.

§. xiv. In the following year, 1178 John de Courcey met with a great check. He had been plundering the now county of Louth, and was driving thence a vast number of cattle, when he was met in the country of Ergall or Oriel by Murtach O'Kervail or Carrol, prince of that country, and Mac-Dunlevy of Ullagh, who attacked him with such success, that, having lost many of his soldiers, he was obliged to fly, attended by only eleven men, for two days and two nights without food or rest, until he reached his castle near Downpatrick. He was also unfortunate in an incursion, which he made into Dalaradia. (88) To this year is assigned the foundation of the Cistercian monastery of Rosalas or Monaster-evan, called of St. Mary, *alias* De Rosea valle, by Dermot O'Dempsey, prince of Ophaly, who richly endowed it. (89) In this year died on the 8th of May Donald O'Fogarty, bishop of Ossory, who had assisted at the council of Kells, not as bishop but as vicar general of that diocese. (90) It is supposed that in his time the see of Ossory was at Aghaboe, the famous monastery of St. Cannich or Kenny. (91) Yet this is doubtful; but it is certain, that it was there in the time of his immediate successor Felix O'Dullany, who held that see from 1178 to 1202; nor was it, as far as I can judge, until after O'Dullany's death that it was removed from Aghaboe to Kilkenny. (92) In the same year 1178 died Rugnad O'Ruadan, bishop of Kilmacduach; (93) and the abbey and town of Ardfinnan were plundered and burned by some English adventurers. (94) About this time, or before it, Christian, bishop of Lismore, must have resigned his see; for we find, that in the

year 1179 it was held by one Felix. Christian retired to the Cistercian monastery of Kyrie eleison at Odorney in the county of Kerry, where he spent the remainder of his days. (95) On his resigning the bishopric it may be naturally supposed, that he gave up also the apostolic legateship. Felix was one of the Irish prelates, who assisted in 1179 at the third general council of Lateran, for the meeting of which summonses had been issued by Alexander III. in the preceding year. They are said to have been six in all; viz. St. Laurence of Dublin, Catholicus of Tuam, Constantine O'Brian of Killaloe, Felix of Lismore, Augustin of Waterford, and Briccius of Limerick. On their way through England to Rome they were obliged to take an oath, that they would not act in any manner prejudicial to the king or his kingdom. (96) The Pope treated St. Laurence with much kindness, and gave him a bull, in which, taking under his protection the church of Dublin, he confirmed its rights, its jurisdiction over the suffragan sees of Glendaloch, Kildare, Ferns, Leighlin, and Ossory, which he also took under the protection of St. Peter and the Roman church, and its extensive possessions in churches, villages, lands, &c. (97) In this council, or soon after it, and when he was near returning from Rome, the Pope appointed him legate throughout all Ireland. (98) To this year, 1179 some accounts assign the foundation of the Cistercian abbey of Ashro, or Easrua, *alias* De Samario, near Ballyshannon, by Roderic O'Cananan, prince of Tir-connel. (99) Great conflagrations of Armagh, Cashel, Clonfert, Lothra or Lorrach in the county of Tipperary, and Tuam, are mentioned as having occurred in said year; (100) but whether owing to accident or design, I am not able to tell.

(88) Ware, *Annals* at A. 1178. See also Lyttleton, B. 5.

(89) Ware, *ib.* and *Antiq. cap.* 26. at Kildare. He says, that others place this foundation in 1189. But it could not have been

so late, whereas one of the witnesses to the deed for it was Donat, bishop of Leighlin, who died in 1185. This deed is in the *Monast. Anglic. Vol. 2. p. 1031*. Monasterevan is supposed to have derived its name from a monastery, that had been there under the name of St. Evin. Ware seems to confound it with St. Evin's monastery of Ross-mac-treoin. But Ros-mac-treoin was the place now called *Old Ross* in the county of Wexford, and in the southern part of Leinster, which could not be said of Monasterevan. (See *Chap. xiv. §. 3.* and *ib. Not. 46.*) It may be justly suspected, that the name *Monasterevan* meant merely the *monastery near the river* (*abhan* in Irish), as it was contiguous to the Barrow. For I do not find, that there was any monastery under the name of St. Evin in that part of Leinster, nor that St. Abban, from whom it has been conjectured that Monasterevan got its name, erected one there.

(90) Ware (*Bishops at Ossory*) thought, that he sat above 20 years. Harris foists in *upwards of 26 years*, on the supposition of his having been bishop of Ossory at the time of the council. But the most correct account makes him at that time only vicar general. (See *Not. 100. to Chap. xxvii.*)

(91) Ware (*ib.*) speaks of the see of Saigir as having been removed to Aghaboe perhaps in 1052, because a church was built there in that year. This, however is a poor argument, and the matter is still uncertain.

(92) Ware says, (*ib.*) that the removal to Kilkenny was made by O'Dullany; and in the *Census Camerales* of Cencius, which was written before O'Dullany's death, the see is called *Cainic*. But from a passage quoted by Usher from a catalogue of the bishops of Ossory (*Pr. p. 957.*) it appears, that the see was still at Aghaboe, when O'Dullany died. The words are; "A. D. MCCII. obiit Reverendus pater Felix O'Dulane episcopus Ossoriensis, cujus ecclesia cathedralis tunc erat apud Aghboo in superiori Ossoria." Through an error of the press, or probably an oversight of Usher, MCCII. appears there, and also in the *Ind. Chron.* instead of MCCII. The name of *Cainic* (Kilkenny) might have been introduced into the text of Cencius at a later period. Ledwich has (*Ant. &c. p. 510. 2d. ed.*) some bungling about two dioceses of Aghaboe and Kilkenny from a *Provinciale*, which, he says, was compiled after 1102, because O'Dullany died in that

year, for which, he quotes Usher. Now he might have easily perceived, that 1102 is a palpable mistake, and that Usher had observed, (*ib.*) that the *Provinciale*, no matter when compiled, was wrong, and that the sees of Aghaboe and Kilkenny ought not to be distinguished. Ledwich complains, that Aghaboe was sunk in Kilkenny through the encroachment of Papal power in 1152, that is, by Cardinal Paparo. But surely the see was not at Kilkenny until long after 1152, nor at the earliest, even according to Ware, until after 1178. What an antiquary of Ireland and of Aghaboe!

(93) Ware, *Bishops at Kilmacduach*.

(94) Archdall at *Ardfinnan*.

(95) Ware, *Bishops at Lismore*, and *Antiq. cap. 26 at Kerry*. He makes mention of a bishop, named O'Cerbail, (Carrol) who died at Lismore in 1167; but he could not have been bishop of that see, whereas Christian was still its bishop at the time of the synod of Cashel in 1172. (See above §. 2.)

(96) Ware, *Annals at A. 1179*. It has been said, (Fleury, *L. 73. §. 24.*) that an Irish bishop, who attended at the council, had no other income than the milk of three cows. If this be true, he must not have been one of those now mentioned; for it cannot be supposed, that any of their sees was reduced to such poverty. In fact Hoveden makes mention (at *A. 1179*) of five or six Irish bishops, who, besides St. Laurence and Catholicus, went to the council, although other accounts reckon in the whole only the six above named.

(97) This bull is dated the 20th of April *A. D.* 1179, and may be seen in Usher's *Sylloge*, No. 48. It is surprising to observe, how richly endowed the see of Dublin was at that time, Lusk, Swords, Finglas, Clondalkin, Tallaght, and many other places are mentioned as belonging to it, and also the parish churches of St. Thomas, St. Nicholas, St. Warburg, St. Patrick in the island, supposed to be the old church of St. Patrick in the south suburbs of Dublin (see Mr. Mason's *History of the Cathedral of St. Patrick*, p. 2.) the island of the sons of Nessan, that is, Ireland's Eye, (see *Not. 61 to Chap. XI.*) &c. &c.

(98) *Vita S. Laurent. cap. 23.*

(99) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 26. at Donegall*. He observes, that others place this foundation in 1184. Roderic O'Canavan lived

until 1188, as stated by Ware (*ib.*) and Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 449.) Yet in the *Ind. Chron.* to this work, owing to one of those errata so common in Colgan's printed text, his death is marked at *A.* 1178. The English translator of Ware's Annals has (at *A.* 1179) changed his name into Roderic O'Cavanah.

(100) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron.* Colgan (*ib.* and p. 310.) assigns that of Armagh to *A.* 1178; but O'Flaherty (*MS. note at p.* 310.) marks *A.* 1179.

§. xv. Meanwhile Fitz-Adelm had been recalled from Ireland in 1178, and Hugh de Lacy appointed deputy, to whom Robert De la Poer was joined in the commission. It seems, that he was soon after entrusted with the custody of Wexford. Of him it has been said, that he did nothing memorable or great during his government of Ireland, except his having removed the celebrated staff of Jesus from Armagh to Dublin. (101) But this mighty achievement ought not, I think, to be attributed to Fitz-Adelm, or to the time of his administration, during which neither he nor any of his countrymen had got possession of Armagh; nor was it probably until 1184, when Philip de Worcester entered Armagh with a great army, and extorted there much money and other things from the clergy. (102) There is a bull of Alexander III. dated the 13th of May, *A. D.* 1179, by which he “confirms the city of Glendaloch, in which the cathedral is, with the churches and other the possessions and appurtenances of it to Malchus, bishop of Glendaloch, and to his successors, saving the rights of the abbot of Glendaloch. (103) St. Laurence O'Toole, being returned to Ireland, (104) applied himself with fervour not only to the care of his own diocese and province, but likewise to the duties of his apostolic legation. He exerted himself to eradicate whatever abuses had crept in, owing to the perturbed state of the country, particularly with regard to the conduct of the clergy. He was very strict against such of them as were

guilty of incontinence ; and it is said that he sent 140 of them, who were convicted of that crime, to Rome to look for absolution there, although he did not want power to absolve them himself. (105) This was a scandal of a new kind in Ireland, and was chiefly caused by the bad conduct and example of the adventuring and fighting sort of clergymen, that had for some years back flocked over to this country from England and Wales. (106) The holy prelate still continued his unbounded charities, and during a famine, which lasted for three years, gave daily alms to 500 poor persons, besides supplying about 300 more throughout his diocese with clothes, provisions, and other necessaries. During these hard times about 200 children were left at the door of his residence, all of whom he got care taken of and well provided for. (107) Several miracles are attributed to him during that period, one of which was in the case of Gallwed, a priest of St. Martin's church in Dublin, who, having after a heavy fit of sickness lain for three days and nights as if dead, was, on St. Laurence's addressing him and praying over him, roused as it were out of a trance, and rose in good health. (108)

(101) Giraldus, *Hib. exp. L. 2. c. 18.* and Annals of Mary's Abbey at *A. 1178.* Concerning this staff see *Chap. iv. §. 12.*

(102) Ware makes Fitz-Adelm the remover of the staff to Dublin, but does not place this transaction in the time that he was deputy or governor of Ireland ; assigning it in his Annals to *A. 1180.* How could Fitz-Adelm have taken it out of Armagh in that year, whereas neither he nor any of the foreign adventurers entered Armagh at that time, nor for some years later ? Ware mentions, (*ib. ad A. 1184.*) from Giraldus, the conduct of Philip de Worcester ; and on this occasion the staff might have been carried away. He adds (at *A. 1180*) that it was placed in the cathedral of the Blessed Trinity, where it was preserved with great care till the suppression of monasteries. And he tells us (*ib. at A. 1538*) that it was burned and destroyed in the year 1538.

(103) Harris (*Bishops at Glendalncb*) from the book, called *Crede mihi*.

(104) It is strange, that Giraldus (*Hib. exp. L. 2. c. 23.*) speaks of St. Laurence as if he had never returned to Ireland after the council of Lateran, observing that he was suspected by the king Henry on account of some privileges, contrary to the royal dignity, which he had obtained in that council. It is equally strange, that Leland (*B. 1. ch. 5.*) follows Giraldus, and adds, that after the council Henry forbid him to return to Ireland. But this prohibition is placed by the author of his *Life* after his return from Rome to Ireland, and after his having gone on a subsequent occasion to England. What were the privileges derogatory to the king's dignity, obtained by St. Laurence, I cannot discover, unless Giraldus meant the bull, of which above, granted to him by Alexander III. Perhaps Henry, who was not ashamed to apply for bulls, when his interests required them, and was glad to get them, did not wish, that bulls should be issued in favour of others. That St. Laurence did actually return after the council to Ireland is, besides being positively stated in his *Life*, evident, as will be soon seen, from Hoveden and other old writers.

(105) *Vit. S. Laurent. cap. 23.*

(106) That this was the true cause of the scandal will be seen lower down, from what passed in the synod of Dublin held a few years later under archbishop Cumin. We have a sample of the hopeful kind of ecclesiastics, who came over to Ireland with Strongbow and others, in one Nicholas a monk, who fought in their armies, and who, when Strongbow and his party on their way in 1171 to relieve Fitz-Stephen, whom they thought still besieged in Carig, were on the point of being totally defeated by O'Ryan, prince of Idrone, killed O'Ryan with an arrow, and thus changed the fate of the day. (Leland, *B. 1. ch. 2* and Lyttelton, *B. 4.*) Such were the missionaries, who, according to the wish of Adrian IV., were to establish pure religion and sound ecclesiastical discipline in Ireland.

(107) *Vit. S. Laurent. cap. 24.* The author was mistaken in placing those three years of famine during the time of the saint's legateship. They must have begun before it; for he did not live three years after he was appointed legate.

(108) *Ib. cap. 30.*

§. xvi. Some time in the year 1180 St. Laurence went to England for the purpose of settling a certain dispute between Roderic O'Connor and Henry II. (109) He took with him a son of Roderic, who was to be left hostage with Henry. (110) But Henry, acting in a tyrannical manner, would not listen to him, and, having given orders that he should not be allowed to return to Ireland, passed over to Normandy. The saint retired to the monastery of Abingdon, where he remained three weeks. But hoping to induce Henry to accommodate matters he set out for France, and having landed at Wishant was proceeding towards Normandy, when he was seized with a fever. Being arrived near the frontiers of that province he descried the monastery of Augum, now Eu, belonging to Canons Regular of St. Victor, and situated at the very entrance of Normandy. Thither he went, and having prayed in the church was received in the hospice. Foreseeing that his end was near at hand, he made his confession to the abbot Osbert and received from him the holy Viaticum. While he was confined to bed David, a respectable clergyman and tutor of the young prince, intended as a hostage, called upon Henry, and at length prevailed upon him to agree to some terms. On his return to Augum on the fourth day, the saint expressed his joy at the issue of the business. On the third day following he requested of the abbot and brethren to be received into their body and fraternity, which was granted to him with great pleasure. He then asked for and received the sacrament of Extreme unction. Being admonished to make a will, he answered; "God knows, that I have not at present as much as one penny under the sun." A little before his death he lamented the sad state of his country, saying in the Irish language; "*Ah! foolish and senseless people, what are you now to do? Who will cure your misfortunes? Who will heal you?*" Soon after he was called to a

better world at the very end of Friday, the 14th November, *A. D.* 1180, and after the funeral obsequies were terminated was honourably interred in the middle of the church of Augum in the presence of many persons, among others Cardinal Alexius the Pope's legate for Scotland, who happened to arrive then at Augum. (111) The saint's body remained there for about four years and a half, until, on occasion of rebuilding the church, it was taken up and placed in a shrine before the altar of the martyr Leodegarius. (112) He was canonized by Honorius III. in the year 1226. (113) After the canonization his reliques were with great solemnity placed over the high altar, and preserved in a silver shrine. Some of them were sent to Christ-church, Dublin, and some to various places in France. (114) Immediately on being informed of St. Laurence's death, Henry II. dispatched Jeffery De la Hay, his chaplain, and a certain clerk of the legate Alexius, to Dublin for the purpose of seizing on the revenues of the see and collecting them into the Exchequer. (115)

(109) In the saint's Life (*cap.* 31.) the Irish king, in whose behalf he went to England, is called *Deronogus*. This must be a mistake, as appears from the Life itself, in which that king is called the most powerful king of Ireland. Now there was no such powerful sovereign, named *Deronogus*, at that time in this country. Hoveden and the abbot Benedict call the Irish king *Roderic*.

(110) So Hoveden, Benedict, and others. But in the Life (*ib.*) the young man, intended as a hostage, is represented as a nephew of St. Laurence.

(111) *Vit. S. Laurent. capp.* 31-32. *seqq.* Hoveden is far from being correct, when treating of St. Laurence's arrival in Normandy and the time of his death. He says, (at *A.* 1181) that he came to that country after the feast of the purification of said year, that is, early in February of 1181. He speaks of him as if he had seen the king Henry there, and so does Butler in St. Laurence's Life at 14 November. But the fact is, that the saint

died before he could see him in Normandy. I suppose Hoveden was unwilling to acknowledge with what harshness his master treated so holy and respected a prelate. Henry was certainly not fond of him, as he knew how much St. Laurence was attached to the independence of Ireland. Then Hoveden tells us, that the saint died not long after, that is, as his text insinuates, in rather an early part of 1181. This is palpably wrong; for nothing is more certain than that his death occurred on a 14th of November. It is extraordinary, that Harris (*Bishops at St. Laurence O'Toole*) alleges Hoveden as a voucher for the saint's death in 1180, whereas he expressly places it in 1181. It is, however, true, that 1180 was the real year of it, as Usher has very well proved, (*Sylloge, Not. ad No. 48.*) who, besides referring to Irish Annals, observes, that this is confirmed by the circumstance of the 14th of November having fallen in that year on a Friday. And Hoveden himself supplies us with an unanswerable proof by stating, that John Cumin was elected archbishop of Dublin on the 6th of September. *A.* 1181. Now, as St. Laurence died on a 14th of November, this day, having been prior to Cumin's election, must have been in 1180. Ware was therefore right (*Annals at A.* 1180, and *Archbishops of Dublin*) in marking the saint's death at this year. Hoveden's mistake in assigning it to 1181 has been followed by several writers, among others Baronius, Fleury, &c. Fleury, to guard against the argument taken from its having occurred on a Friday, affixes it to a Saturday. (See *Hist. Eccl. L.* 73. §. 25.) But the plain meaning of the author of the Life is, that the saint's death fell within the Friday. He says (*cap.* 33); "Itaque cum sextae feriae terminus advenisset, in confinio Sabbati subsequentis spiritum sancti viri requies aeterna susceperit."

(112) See said Life, (*cap.* 35.) and Harris (*Archbishops, &c. at St. Laurence*) from the office of the feast of the saint's translation celebrated at Augum, or Eu, on the 10th of May.

(113) The bull of canonization is in the *Bullarium Romanum*, and has been republished by Messingham (*App. ad. Vit. S. Laurent.*) and Wilkins (*Conc. &c. Tom. 1. p.* 619.). It is dated 3 *idus* (the 11th) *Decembris*, 10th year of the pontificate of Honorius III.

(114) See Harris, *ib.*

(115) Warc, *Annals at A.* 1180, and Harris, *loc. cit.*

CHAP. XXX.

Death of Gilbert O'Caran archbishop of Armagh—Some churches and abbeys plundered, and several others founded—Insurrection of the people of Munster against the English—Dispute between Roderic O'Connor and his son—Arrival of John Cumin, first English archbishop of Dublin—Bull of Pope Lucius III. which in some measure exempts the See of Dublin from the jurisdiction of Armagh—Philip of Worcester succeeds Hugh de Lacy in the government of Ireland, and extorts much money and other valuables from the clergy at Armagh—Arrival of John Earl of Morton and Lord of Ireland—waited on by some Irish Lords, who are insulted by him—they resent his treatment, and in several conflicts almost the entire army of John is destroyed—Deaths and successions of several bishops and abbots—Provincial Synod of Dublin under archbishop Cumin, at which Albin O'Mulloy preached against the incontinency and vicious habits of the English clergy who had come into Ireland—The delinquents are, in consequence, suspended from their functions by the archbishop—Gerald Barry preaches on the next day against the Irish clergy, but is forced to acknowledge their virtues—Canons agreed to at this Synod—Translation of the remains of St. Patrick, St. Columb and St. Brigid—Hugh de Lacy killed—Fables of Giraldus Cambrensis refuted—Payment of tithes introduced into Ireland—Further account and refutation of the fables of Gerald Barry.

SECT. 1.

IN the same year 1180 died also Gilbert O'Caran, archbishop of Armagh, who is said to have made,

some time before his death, a grant of the town of Ballybaghal, in the now county of Dublin, to the Cisterian monastery of St. Mary, Dublin. (1) He was succeeded by Tomultach, *alias* Thomas, O'Connor, who having held the see for some time resigned, as will be seen lower down, but afterwards resumed it. In this year the abbey of Innisfallen, where the gold and silver and the richest articles of that whole country were deposited as in an inviolable sanctuary, was villanously plundered by Maolduin, son of Daniel O'Donoghoe, as likewise the church of Ardferf, and many persons were killed, even in the cemetery, by the Clancarties; but several of the perpetrators of these crimes were soon after punished by an untimely end. (2) The foundation of some religious houses is assigned to this year, such as that of Jeripont, or Jerpoint, in the now county of Kilkenny, for Cisterian monks by Donald, prince of Ossory. (3) It is said, that there was an older monastery of that order at Killenny, somewhere in that country, founded by Dermot O'Ryan, and called *De Valle Dei*, but which was afterwards united to Douske, now Graige-ne-managh. (4) The Cisterian abbey of Chore, or *de choro S. Benedicti*, in the place now called Middleton (county of Cork) is also marked at A. 1180, and is stated to have been supplied from Nenay or Magio in the county of Limerick. (5) Prior to this year there was another Cisterian house, called *De castro Dei*, at Fermoy, which is stated to have been founded in 1170, and to have been originally supplied from the monastery of Surium. (6) The monastery of Maur, or *De fonte vivo*, also belonging to that order, and in the same now county of Cork, is said to have been founded by Dermot Mac-Cormac-Mac-Carthy, king of Desmond, and son of Cormac, the friend of St. Malachy, in 1172, and to have received its first members from the abbey of Baltinglas. (7) According to some accounts the monastery, likewise Cistercian,

of Inis or Iniscourcey, a peninsula adjoining the lough of Strangford, and opposite to Downpatrick, was founded in 1180 by John de Courcey, and supplied with monks from Furness in Lancashire. (8) He erected this monastery in atonement for his having destroyed the Benedictine house of Erynagh, called also *Carrig*, from the rock on which it stood, in the now barony of Lecale, which had been founded in 1127 by an Ulster prince, named Magnell Mackenleff, and whose first abbot was a St. Evodius. With the lands, that belonged to this monastery, De Courcey endowed the new one of Inis. (9) To about the same year 1180 I find affixed another foundation by the same De Courcey, viz. that of the Black priory of St. Andrew de Stokes, a Benedictine establishment in the Ardes, likewise in the now county of Down. (10)

(1) Ware, *Archbishops of Armagh*. Whether or not that grant was made by Gilbert is not worth inquiring into. Ware says, that Ballybaghal got its name *abaculo S. Patricii*, meaning, I suppose, the staff usually called *of Jesus*. But what had that staff, which is said to have been placed in Trinity Church Dublin, to do with a country place in the district of that city? Besides, said staff was not in Dublin during the times of Gilbert. (See *Not.* 102. to *Chap.* xxix.)

(2) Annals of Innisfallen, and Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1180.

(3) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Kilkenny*. It seems that, according to some accounts, the monks of this establishment had been removed from some other place in Ossory. Archdall (at *Ierpoint*) calls the founder Donogh O'Donoghoe. Where he found him so called he does not tell us; but surely the princes of Ossory were not O'Donoghoes but Mac-Gilla-Patricks.

(4) See Ware, *ib.* and Harris, *Monasteries*.

(5) Ware, *ib.* at *Cork*. He does not say, by whom it was founded; but Archdall (at *Middleton*) shamefully quotes him, as if he had said, that the Fitzgeralds were the founders. He has no such thing, nor could he; for he was too well versed in Irish history not to know, that the Fitzgeralds were not at that time so

settled in that country as to set about founding monasteries. The flimsy Alemand ascribes it to the Barries, and, strange to remark, has been followed by Harris, (*Monast.*) as if Harris could not have easily found, that there were no Barries established at that time in the South of Ireland. The first of that name, who was possessed of lands there granted to him by his uncle Robert Fitz-Stephen, was Philip Barry, who, as far as I can discover, did not come to Ireland, or at least reside in this country, until 1183. (See Ware, *Annals* at A. 1183, and *Antiq. cap.* 27.)

(6) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Cork*. The same shallow Alemand ascribes this foundation to the Roches, not knowing that the Roches were not settled in the now county of Cork until many years after 1170. But he had heard, that they became lords of Fermoy, and accordingly, without distinguishing the times, gave them the honour of this foundation. He was very little acquainted with Irish history, particularly the ancient part of it. For instance, in the Introduction to his work (*p.* 19.) he confounds St. Moctheus of Louth with St. Mocdoc of Ferns.

(7) Ware, *ib.* Archdall thought it probable, that the monastery of Maur was at a place called Carigiliky in the West Carbery.

(8) Ware, *ib.* at *Down*, and Archdall at *Iniscourcey*. Ware observes, that others place this foundation in 1188. Archdall says that one E. of this monastery, that is, the abbot, was a witness to De Courcey's grant made to the church of St. Patrick in Down, meaning the grant of 1183. Were this true, Inis must have been founded some years before 1188. But that E. was witness not to the original grant of 1183, but to a later one in favour of said church. (See *Mon. Angl.* v. 2. *p.* 1021.)

(9) See Harris, *History of the county of Down*, ch. 3. *p.* 24. and Archdall at *Erynagh* and *Iniscourcey*.

(10) Ware treating (*ib.*) of this priory does not mark the year of its original foundation by De Courcey; but Harris (*Monast.*) assigns it to about A. 1180. Archdall (at *Black abbey*) is wrong in saying, that De Courcey made this house a cell to the abbey of Lonley in Normandy; for, as Ware states, (*loc. cit.*) this was done by De Lacy about the year 1218. De Courcey's charter for said priory is in the *Monast. Angl.* V. 2. *p.* 1019; but there is not a word in it about the abbey of Lonley. There is, however,

in the same page another charter or deed, by which the abbot and monks of Lonley make over to Richard, archbishop of Armagh, and to his successors, the said priory of St. Andrew in the Ardes, and all their possessions in Ulster. This must have taken place long after the times we are now treating of; for there was no archbishop of Armagh named *Richard*, until Richard Fitz-Ralph, who lived in the 14th century. Ware (*loc. cit.*) makes mention of this annexation at rather a late period to the see of Armagh.

§. II. Thomas O'Connor, archbishop of Armagh, made in 1181 a visitation throughout Tyrone, with which he was well satisfied. (11) In this year died Marian O'Dunain, abbot of the Augustin Canons monastery of Cnoc na Sengan in or near Louth. He was most probably the same as the celebrated hagiologist Marian Gorman, who was certainly abbot at Louth in the year 1172, and who has left a much esteemed martyrology, written in Irish verse, comprising not only Irish saints, but likewise those of other countries. (12) On the 6th of September of this year John Cumin, an Englishman, and a learned and eloquent person, was elected at Evesham in Worcestershire, on the recommendation of Henry II. whom he had served in a clerical capacity, archbishop of Dublin, by some of the clergy of that city assembled there for that purpose. He was not then a priest, but in the following year was ordained one at Velletri and afterwards there consecrated archbishop by Pope Lucius III. (13) He did not come to Ireland until 1184. Edan O'Killedy, who had been placed on the see of Clogher by the great St. Malachy, died after a very long incumbency in 1182, and was succeeded by Moeliosa O'Carrol, who afterwards became archbishop of Armagh. (14) In the same year died also Donald O'Hullucan, archbishop of Cashel, who was succeeded by Maurice, (15) whose real name was undoubtedly *Murchertach*. It was during his incumbency, but in the early part of it, that the celebrated and beautiful Cistercian abbey

of Holy Cross in the county of Tipperary was erected and endowed by Donald O'Brian, king of North Munster, whereas Maurice, while archbishop of Cashel, was one of the witnesses to its foundation charter. (16) In the year 1182 the abbey of Dunbrody, county of Wexford, likewise of the Cistercian order, was founded and endowed with lands and property granted by Hervey de Monte Morisco. (17) About the same year Hugh de Lacy, now lord of Meath, erected two monasteries in that territory for Augustin Canons, one at Duleek, which he made a cell to the priory of Lhanthony near Gloucester, and the other at Colp, anciently Invercolpa, near the mouth of the Boyne, which he made a cell to Lhanthony in Monmouthshire. (18) Thus these adventurers and plunderers endeavoured to atone for their robberies in Ireland, committed not only on the laity but likewise on the native clergy of the country.

(11) *Tr. Th.* p. 310.

(12) Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 5. and 737. He extracted a great part of this work from the martyrology of Tallagh, usually called that of Aengus; but it is not, as Ware says, (*Writers at Murry or Marian*) a supplement to that martyrology. (See Harris, *Addition ib.*) Colgan thought, that it was composed about 1167, and Ware states, that it was published in 1171. But it must have been published later, whereas we find in it the name of St. Gilda-Machaibeo, who died in 1174. (See *Chap. xxix. §. 6.* and *ib. Not.* 48.)

(13) Ware and Harris, *Archbishops of Dublin*. Dempster pretends, that he was a Scotchman. The name *Cumin* is certainly rather Scotch or Irish than English. Hoveden (at *A.* 1181) calls him simply a clerk of Henry's. But Giraldus (*Hib. exp. L. 2. c. 23.*) expressly calls him an Englishman.

(14) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Clogher*. Some have said, that Edan died in 1180.

(15) The same, *ib.* at *Cashel*. Giraldus, whom they quote, calls him a learned and wise man.

(16) This charter is in the *Monast. Angl. Vol. 2. p. 1035.* It

was granted in the present of Gregory, abbot of Holy Cross. Christian bishop of Lismore and Legate Apostolic, (*i. e.* who had been such) M. archbishop of Cashel, and B. (Briccius) bishop of Limerick, are named as witnesses to it. By M. must be understood Maurice; for there was not during the reign of Donald O'Brian, nor for many years before, any archbishop of Cashel, whose name began with that letter. Nor can it be referred to his successor Matthew, who was not archbishop until 1192, and accordingly could not sign along with Christian, who died in 1186. Therefore Ware was wrong (*Antiq. cap. 26. at Tipperary*) in assigning this foundation to about 1169 or 1181. Harris (*Monast.*) marks it at 1182: but it was probably somewhat later, yet prior to the death of Christian.

(17) Ware, *loc. cit.* at *Wexford*. He says, that Hervey in about the year 1175 gave various lands to God, and St. Mary, St. Benedict, and the monks of Bildewas in Shropshire various lands for the purpose of establishing a Cistercian abbey, but that the one of Dunbrody was not founded before 1182, upon which the abbot and monks of Bildewas granted to St. Mary's abbey of Dublin whatever right and claim they had to the new establishment of Dunbrody. (See also Archdall at *Dunbrody*.) Hervey's deed is in the *Monast. Angl. Vol. 2. p. 1027*; but Dunbrody, although mentioned in it is not marked as the place, where the abbey ought to be erected. One of the witnesses to it was Felix, bishop of Ossory, that is, O'Dullany. Therefore it was later than Ware says; for Felix was not bishop of Ossory until 1178.

(18) Ware, *ib.* at Meath, where he makes the cell of Duleek the same as the ancient monastery of St. Kienan; but in *Annals* (at A. 1182) he speaks of it as a new foundation. In the English translation there is an erratum 1120 instead of 1182.

§. 3. In this then fashionable mode of purchasing off sins and obtaining forgiveness from heaven John de Courcey distinguished himself beyond many others. We have met above with some instances of monkish soldierly piety in this respect, and now we find some more of them in the year 1183. He turned the secular canons out of the cathedral of Down, and in their stead introduced Benedictine

monks from St. Werburgh's in Chester. At the same time he got the dedication title of the church changed from that of the Holy Trinity into that of St. Patrick. Afterwards he made at different times various grants to this establishment; and Malachy, bishop of Down, also endowed it with lands in a very ample manner, reserving to himself the title of guardian and abbot, as, he says, "is the practice in the church of Winchester or Coventry, and also reserving for the honour of his see, and to its use, the moiety of the oblations on the five following festivals; Christmas day, the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, St. Patrick's day, Easter, and Whitsuntide."

(19) To the same year 1183 is assigned the foundation, by De Courcey, of the Benedictine priory of the island of Neddrum, somewhere, it seems, off the coast of the county of Down, which he made a cell to the abbey of St. Bega of Coupland in Cumberland. (20) The foundation of the priory of St. John the Baptist, *alias* the English priory, in Down, by De Courcey for the Cruciferi, a branch of Augustin Canons, is also marked at said year. (21) According to some accounts one Reginald, who was a witness to one of De Courcey's charters in favour of St. Patrick's of Down, would have been bishop of Connor at this time, in which case it may be inferred that Nehemias, who was bishop there at the time of king Henry's arrival in Ireland, was already dead. (22) In the course of this year there was a great insurrection in Munster, and almost all its kings and princes revolted against Henry II. On this occasion Philip Barry went over to Ireland with a numerous body of troops, both to assist his uncle Fitz-Stephen and to secure to himself some lands, which Fitz-Stephen had granted to him in Olethan, the tract lying between Cork and Youghal. He was accompanied by his brother Gerald, so well known by the name of Giraldus Cambrensis, who now for the first time arrived in the country, which he af-

terwards so basely abused. (23) About this time a dispute and civil war having broken out between Roderic O'Connor and his eldest son Conor, surnamed *Maenmoigi*, Roderic agreed to put an end to the quarrel by giving up the kingdom to Conor, and retiring to a monastery; but in two years after he resumed the sovereignty and administration of it.

(19) The various charters of grants relative to the Benedictine house of Down are in the *Monast. Angl. Vol. 2. p. 1020, seqq.* See also Ware, (*Annals at A. 1183, Antiq. cap. 26. at Down, and Bishops at Down, Malachy III.*) Harris, (*Additions ib.*) and Archdall (at *Downpatrick*). Harris refutes the flimsy Alemand, who says that the house of Down was to depend on the abbey of St. Werburg in Chester, whereas the very contrary is marked and stipulated in one of De Courcey's charters. And can it be supposed, that the Benedictines of Down, who had become in fact the chapter of the cathedral, in the same manner as monks were anciently throughout almost all the cathedrals not only of Ireland but likewise of England, where this practice was longer kept up, could or would be subjected to any other house of their order? In the deed of the bishop Malachy for this establishment there is a signature as of a witness, *L. archbishop of Dublin*. *L.* must be a mistake; for St. Laurence O'Toole was dead before this deed was made, and after him there was no archbishop of Dublin during Malachy's time nor long after, whose name began with *L.* I am sure the original letter was *I.* meaning John Cumin.

(20) So Ware, *Antiq. cap. 26. at Down, and Annals at A. 1183.* But in a little preface to De Courcey's grant of Neddrum (*Monast. Ang. Vol. 2. p. 1023.*) it is said, that he made it over in 1179 to the monastery of St. Bega, &c. This, however does not appear in the text of the grant, and may be a mistake. Archdall at (*Neddrum*) conjectures, that it was the largest of the Copland islands, that is, the one called the *Big isle* off the Ardes. This conjecture seems very probable; whereas there is good reason to think, that the name *Copland* was given to those islands in consequence of there being in one of them an establishment belong-

ing to St. Bega of Coupland. In the head to the above mentioned deed, Coupland is said to be in Yorkshire, in *Com. Eborac.*

(21) Ware in the *Antiq. cap.* 26 at *Down* does not mention the year of this foundation, but in the *Annals* he has it at *A.* 1183. Harris and Archdall merely say, that it was in the 12th century. This priory was called the English one, because there was another house of Canons Regular of St. Augustin in *Down* since the time of St. Malachy, and which was distinguished by the name of the Irish priory.

Notwithstanding these monastic foundations, Giraldus Cambrensis represents many of those leaders as plunderers of Church property. After mentioning, (*Prooemium to the second edition of Hibernia expugnata*) that Robert Fitz-Stephen, Hervey De Monte Marisco, Raymond, John de Courcey, and Meyler, had not merited to obtain legitimate offspring, he adds; “ This is not to be “ wondered at. For the miserable clergy is reduced to beggary “ in the island. The cathedral churches mourn, having been “ robbed by the aforesaid persons, and others along with them, “ or who came over after them, of their lands and ample estates; “ which had been formerly granted to them faithfully and devoutly. “ And thus the *exalting of the Church* has been changed into the “ *despoiling or plundering of the Church.*” And, accounting for some losses sustained by the English, he says, (*Hib. exp. L. 2. cap* 35.) that “ the greatest disadvantage of all was, that, while we “ conferred nothing new on the Church of Christ in our new prin- “ cipality, we not only did not think it worthy of any important “ bounty or of due honour, but even, having immediately taken “ away its lands and possessions, have exerted ourselves either to “ mutilate or abrogate its former dignities and ancient privileges.” Thus it was, that the English adventurers fulfilled the expectations of the Popes Adrian IV. and Alexander III.

(22) Ware (*Bishops at Conor*) thought, that the charter signed by R. or Reginald, bishop of Connor, was drawn up about *A.* 1183; but this is not certain. I must here point out a mistranslation of Ware’s text, *ib.* He calls John de Courcey conqueror of Ulidia or Ullah, which comprized at most the now county of Down and some parts of Antrim. The translator has rendered it *Ulster*. But De Courcey never possessed more than a compa-

ratively small proportion of the province now called Ulster. Harris has guarded against the blunder of that translator.

(23) See Ware, *Annals* at A. 1183.

§. iv. Henry II. intending to transfer the dominion of Ireland to his son John, sent over to Ireland in 1184, to prepare the way for his reception, John Cumin or Comin the new archbishop of Dublin. He had been, as stated above, consecrated archbishop by Pope Lucius III. at Velletri in the year 1182, and on Palm-Sunday the 21st of March. (24) His arrival in Dublin was in the month of September, and he brought with him a bull granted to him by that Pope on the 13th of April A. D. 1182, by which the Pope, "following the authority of the sacred canons, decrees, that no archbishop or bishop do presume to hold meetings in the diocese of Dublin, or to treat of the ecclesiastical causes and affairs of said diocese, without the consent of the archbishop of Dublin, if he (the archbishop of Dublin,) be actually in his bishopric or see, unless such other prelate be enjoined to do so by the Roman Pontiff or his legate." (25) This bull was undoubtedly intended as a protection to the see of Dublin against the exercise of certain powers on the part of the archbishops of Armagh, or perhaps against the antiquated claims of Canterbury. But it does not, as some abettors of the independence of Dublin have imagined, set aside the primatial rights of Armagh, as laid down and arranged by the council of Kells and according to the Canon law of those times. For, although, while the archbishop of Armagh was not only the primate but likewise the only archbishop of Ireland, he exercised powers much greater than were afterwards allowed to primates, visited all the dioceses of Ireland whenever he thought fit, and interfered in their internal concerns, yet by the Canon law of the times we are now treating of, such ample jurisdiction was not allowed to primates any where. The bull of

Lucius III., while it exempts the diocese of Dublin from the extensive jurisdiction formerly enjoyed by the see of Armagh, does not, however, render it absolutely independent of that see, as far as its rights were recognized by the general Canon law of that period, particularly the privilege of receiving appeals from the other archdioceses of Ireland and the power of deciding on them in the spiritual court of Armagh, but not elsewhere. There is not a word in the bull to invalidate such primatial rights as these; and it is even supposed, that, except in the cases especially mentioned in the bull, every thing else was to remain as usual. Those therefore, who contend for the total independence of Dublin on Armagh, must recur to other documents different from this bull and later than it, of which they may find several on both sides of the question issued in after-times, of which I do not mean to treat. (26)

(24) Hoveden at *A.* 1182. This alone is sufficient, if any thing else were wanting, to prove that the year of St. Laurence O'Toole's death was 1180. For he died on a 14th of November; Cumin was elected his successor on the 6th of September following, but was not ordained priest until the 13th, nor consecrated bishop until the 21st March of the next succeeding year. That this was 1182, as Hoveden marks it, is evident from the circumstance of Palm-Sunday falling on the 21st of March, whereas, according to the chronological tables, Easter Sunday fell in 1182 on the 28th of March. (Compare with *Not.* 111. to *Chap.* xxix.) Giraldus, speaking (*Hib. exp. L. 2. c. 23.*) of Cumin's ordination to the priesthood says, that he was ordained *presbyter cardinalis* by Lucius III. Should this be understood as if he were made a cardinal priest of the particular church of Rome, it is false; for, as Ware has shown, (*Archbishops of Dublin at John Cumin*) he never was a cardinal in that sense. Perhaps Giraldus' reason for giving that title to Cumin was, that he was probably ordained priest on the title of some parochial church in Dublin; and it is well known, that in former times several priests not only of Rome but likewise of other cities, such as Paris, Ravenna, &c. used to be styled cardinals.

(25) See Ware, (*Archbishops, &c.* at John Cumin, and *Annals* at A. 1181.) Harris, (*Archbishops ib.* and at Armagh, *Walter de Jorse*) and the *Jus Primat. Armac.* §. 63. *seqq.* The original words are as follow; “ Sacrorum quoque canonum auctoritatem sequentes statuimus, ut nullus archiepiscopus vel episcopus absque assensu Dubliniensis archiepiscopi, *si in episcopatu fuerit, in dioecesi Dubliniensi* conventus celebrare, causas et ecclesiastica negotia ejusdem dioecesis, nisi per Romanum Pontificem vel legatum ejus fuerit eidem injunctum, tractare praesumat.” It was a shame for Peter Talbot, the R. C. archbishop of Dublin, to quote this passage in a mutilated form, as may be seen in *Jus, &c. ib.* The translator of Ware and Harris have spoiled the whole meaning of it. They make the Pope say, “ that no archbishop or bishop shall without the assent of the archbishop of Dublin presume to hold any convention, &c. *if it be in a bishoprick within the diocese of Dublin,* or, as Harris has altered it, *a bishoprick within his province.* Certainly *a bishopric within the diocese of Dublin* is a ridiculous expression, and shows what a bungler that translator was; but Harris’ amendment is equally bad; for who would translate *dioecesi* by the word *province*? They united, without inserting a comma, the words, *si in episcopatu fuerit,* with *in dioecesi Dubliniensi,* and, instead of *he,* wrote *it,* and thus fell into their blundering translations. From their nonsense it would follow, that a suffragan bishop of the province of Dublin could not hold a meeting of his clergy, *ex. c.* a diocesan synod or even a conference, without the consent of the archbishop of Dublin, nor without it manage the common affairs of his own see. Now the object of the bull was not to degrade the suffragan bishops below their level, but to protect the see of Dublin against higher claims; and the true meaning of it is, that, while there is a person in the bishopric, that is, an actually existing archbishop of Dublin in the diocese, no other prelate do venture to hold meetings, or to treat of its affairs, *in the diocese of Dullin,* except in case the Pope or his legate should give an order to that effect. It may seem, that the second part of the prohibition, *viz.* that relative to not treating of the affairs of the diocese of Dublin, might be understood of their not being treated of not only in said diocese but likewise no where else. But the context indicates, that the only place meant, *within*

which such affairs should not be treated of by prelates different from the archbishop of Dublin, is the diocese of Dublin itself.

(26) Harris gives (*Archbishops of Armagh*, at *Walter de Jorse*) a good summary of this tedious controversy, which he took in great part from Mac-Mahon's *Jus Primat. Armac.* a learned and respectable work. He deduces the origin of it from the bull of Lucius III.; but I think he was mistaken, as he certainly was with regard to the meaning of said bull. Nor do I find, that any archbishop of Armagh, contemporary with John Cumin, complained of this bull, although Peter Talbot, who is refuted by Harris, (*ib.* at *Moeliosa O'Carrol*) pretended that this Moeliosa had a contest with him on this subject. And in fact I do not perceive in this bull any thing derogatory to the real primacy of Armagh. I should rather derive the commencement of this dispute from some later bull, such as one of Honorius III. granted to Henry de Loundres, archbishop of Dublin, and "prohibiting any archbishop or other prelate of Ireland (except the suffragans of Dublin and the Pope's legate) from having the cross carried before them, holding assemblies, (except those of the religious orders) or treating of ecclesiastical causes (unless they be delegated by the Holy see) in the province of Dublin without the consent of the archbishop of Dublin." This bull goes much farther than that of Lucius III.; for in the first place the exemption is not confined to the diocese of Dublin, but extends to the whole province; and secondly, which is very material, the right of having the cross carried before him, which used to be exercised by the primate in every part of Ireland, is prohibited as to the province of Dublin. This was a real infringement of a privilege of the see of Armagh; yet there is nothing said in opposition to its right of receiving appeals from the province of Dublin, although not to be tried *in said province* without the consent of the archbishop of Dublin. There was, however, enough in this bull to cause dissatisfaction at Armagh. What is said in it concerning the not allowing any prelate of another province to treat of ecclesiastical causes *in that of Dublin*, while it does not prevent the treating of *at Armagh* causes belonging to the province of Dublin, confirms what I have observed in the preceding note as to the place, in which, according to Lucius' bull, no prelate, different from the archbishop of Dublin, is permitted to treat of the ecclesiastical affairs of the diocese of

Dublin. Were the words of that bull to be understood otherwise than as I have explained them, they would imply a privilege vastly greater than that granted by the bull of Honorius. Now it is evident, that Honorius intended to confer greater exemptions than Lucius had, and yet he goes no farther than to prevent any prelate of a different province (alluding to the archbishop of Armagh) from juridically treating of ecclesiastical causes *in the province of Dublin*. Hence it is clear, that the intention of Lucius was, that no prelate, different from the archbishop of Dublin, should treat of the affairs of the diocese of Dublin *in the diocese of Dublin*, without his meaning that said prelate might not treat of them elsewhere. Mac-Mahon is rather unfortunate (*Jus*, §c. §. 75.) in his comments on the bull of Honorius, which he strives to make appear as spurious. He sneers at its being allowed to the suffragan bishops of the province of Dublin to have the cross carried before them without the consent of the archbishop. But the bull does not permit them to do so in the diocese of Dublin, but only in the province, that is, in their own dioceses and no where else. As the bull refers to the whole province, it was necessary to insert that clause, whereas otherwise a Leinster suffragan bishop, *ex. c.* a bishop of Kildare, would be prohibited from having the cross carried before him in his own diocese without the consent of the archbishop of Dublin.

§. 5. In this year 1184 Thomas O'Connor resigned the see of Armagh, and in his place was appointed Moeliosa O'Carrol, bishop of Clogher, who was succeeded there by Christian or Gilla-Criost O'Macturan, abbot of Clones. Moeliosa after his election set out for Rome, but died on his way thither. Amlave O'Murid was then chosen archbishop of Armagh, and died not long after in 1185. (27) Upon his death Thomas O'Connor resumed the see, which he held for 16 years after. (28) In said year 1184 Hugh de Lacy was recalled from the government of Ireland, and Philip of Worcester was sent over in his stead, who signalized his administration by an unjust and wicked attack on Armagh, where he extorted much money and other valuables from

the clergy. (29) He and some of his followers were soon after punished for this iniquitous proceeding. (30) It was probably in atonement for this crime that Philip founded the Benedictine priory of Sts. Philip, James, and Cumin, at Kilcumin in the now barony of Kilnelongurty, county of Tipperary, which he supplied with monks from Glastonbury, to which he made it a cell, and one of whom, named James, he placed over it. (31) To about the same year I find assigned the establishment of the Cistercian house of Inislaunaght near the Suir in said county, which seems to have consisted merely in a removal from the monastery of Surium to that place, (32) and in a new endowment by Donald O'Brian, king of North Munster. Another Cistercian monastery was founded in 1183 by Cnoghóir O'More in Leix in the now Queen's county. (33) In the year 1185 John, earl of Morton, and lord of Ireland, arrived with a large fleet and a very considerable army at Waterford on the first of April. He was accompanied by the famous Gerald Barry as his tutor and secretary. (34) On his landing he was received by the archbishop of Dublin and other English lords, who swore fealty to him. Several Irish chieftains of the neighbouring parts waited on him at Waterford, congratulated him on his happy arrival, and acknowledged him as their lord. But John and his young nobles received them with derision, and some of these impudent foreigners pulled them by their beards, which, contrary to the Norman and English fashion of those days, they wore long and thick. The Irish lords were highly enraged at this treatment, and, determined on revenge, retired together with their clans to the territories of Donald O'Brian, to whom as likewise to Dermot Mac-Carthy, king of Desmond, and to Roderic O'Conor they poured forth their complaints, and represented to them what they might have to expect themselves, if they suffered these insolent invaders to get possession of

the country. These princes felt the importance and urgency of the business, and uniting together attacked the new-comers with such vigour, that in the course of a few months John lost in several conflicts almost his whole army, and after having erected two or three castles in Munster, was obliged to return to England in December of said year. On this occasion John de Courcey was appointed Justiciary of Ireland, who by his consummate ability, and with the help of the veteran soldiers, saved the English interest from imminent destruction. (35)

(27) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Armagh and Clogher*. Harris adds, that Amlave O'Murid died at Duncruthen (see *Not.* 18. to *Chap.* vi.) in the now county of Londonderry, and that his remains were thence conveyed to Derry, and buried there, &c. This is, I am sure, a mistake, which Harris fell into by applying to Amlave O'Murid what Ware and himself have (at *Derry*) in the very same words concerning Amlave O'Coffy, a bishop of Derry, who also died in 1185. Ware says, that he found nothing more recorded of Amlave O'Murid than the year of his death. What would have brought him to die at Duncruthen; or, if he did die there, would not his remains have been conveyed to Armagh?

(28) The same *ib.* at *Armagh*.

(29) Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1184. Compare with *Chap.* xxix. §. 15. and *ib.* *Not.* 102.

(30) Giraldus (*Topogr. Hib. Dist.* 2. c. 50.) condemns their conduct as sacrilegious, and states that Philip of Worcester, when carrying away the spoil, was struck with a sudden fit, *subita passione*, from which he hardly escaped. He adds, that two horses of Hugh Tyrrel, who was one of that plundering party, were burnt in Down, which so frightened him, that he sent back his share of the booty, and that the greatest part of that town was destroyed by fire.

(31) Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1184, and *Antiq. cap.* 26. at Tipperary. There is a short account of this priory in the *Monast. Angl. Vol.* 2, p. 1023.

(32) See *Not.* 64. to *Chap.* xxvii.

(33) Ware (*Antiq. loc. cit.*) adds to Donald O'Brian, as a benefactor to Inislaunaght, Malachy O'Foelain prince of the Desies. He does not mention the year, in which they endowed or refounded it; and yet Archdall (at *Inislounagh*) refers to him, as if he said in 1187. Harris (*Monaster. Cistercian abbies*) assigns this endowment to about A. 1184. For the monastery of Leix see Ware (*ib.* at *Queen's county*) and Archdall at *Abbey-Leix*, the name by which it has been known.

(34) Ware (*Annals* at 1185) calls Gerald tutor to prince John, and at *Writers* (*Lib.* 1. *cap.* 2.) following Giraldus himself (*De rebus a se gestis*, Part. 2. c. 10.) says, that Henry II. sent him over to Ireland with John as his secretary. Hence it follows, that Gerald, who had been in Ireland in 1183, (above §. 3.) had in the mean while returned to Wales.

(35) Ware, *Annals* at A. 1185 and Lyttelton, B. 5. See also Giraldus, *Hib. exp.* L. 2. c. 35.

§. 6. In said year, 1185, some Irish bishops died, among whom, besides Amlave O'Murid of Armagh, already mentioned, we find Amlave O'Cobthaigh, or O'Coffy, bishop of Derry, who died at Duncruthen in that diocese. His remains were thence conveyed to Derry, and buried there in the abbey of St. Columba near those of Muredach O'Cobthaigh, his immediate predecessor. (36) He was succeeded by Fogartach O'Cherballen or O'Carallan. Joseph O'Hethe, bishop of Ferns, or, as some have called him, of Wexford, died in the same year after having held the see about thirty years. (37) The prince John, who was then in Ireland, offered this see to Gerald Barry, and proposed to get united to it in his favour the bishopric of Leighlin, which was then vacant by the death of its bishop Donagh or Donat, who died in that year. Gerald declined the offer; and after some time Albin O'Mulloy, abbot of the Cistercian house of Baltinglass, was raised to the see of Ferns. (38) About the middle of Lent of the following year, that is, 1186, Archbishop Cumin held a provincial synod in Dublin in the church of

the Holy Trinity, *alias* Christ-church, which began to sit on the Sunday *Laetare Jerusalem*, or the fourth Sunday of Lent. (39) On the first day the archbishop preached himself on the Sacraments. On the second Albin O'Mulloy, who was still only abbot of Baltinglass, made a long discourse on the subject of the continency of clergymen, in which he inveighed severely against the English and Welsh clergy, that had come over to Ireland, as the authors of whatever abuses then existed in this respect, and who by their vicious example had corrupted the purity and correctness of the Irish ecclesiastics, who were singularly observant of chastity before the contagion was spread among them by those strangers. Upon which several foreign clergymen, settled in the county of Wexford, and who were present at the synod, began to accuse each other, before the whole assembly, of their having concubines and wives, appealing on the spot to witnesses for their assertions and mutual recriminations; upon which they became a laughing-stock and objects of insult to the Irish clergy then present. The archbishop, who had encouraged the delinquents to disclose and prove each others faults, immediately passed sentence on those, who were convicted of being guilty, and suspended them from their ecclesiastical functions and the enjoyment of their benefices. (40) On the third day Gerald Barry, who attended at the synod, was ordered by the archbishop to speak, and pronounced a long farrago of a sermon, in which he entered into a variety of subjects relative to the conduct at large of the Irish clergy, particularly the bishops, mixed with much abuse of the whole nation. (41) Of several of his charges, which are partly founded on his ignorance of ecclesiastical antiquities and partly distorted by malignity, an occasion will soon occur of treating; but I may here observe, that in his general account of the Irish clergy he speaks very favourably of them. "The clergy,"

he says, “ of this country are very commendable
 “ for religion, and among the divers virtues, which
 “ distinguish them, excel and are preeminent in the
 “ prerogative of chastity. Likewise they attend vi-
 “ gilantly to their Psalms and hours, to reading and
 “ prayer ; and remaining within the precincts of
 “ the churches do not absent themselves from the
 “ divine offices, to the celebration of which they
 “ have been appointed. They also pay great atten-
 “ tion to abstinence and sparingness of food, so that
 “ the greatest part of them fast almost every day un-
 “ til dusk and until they have completed all the ca-
 “ nonical offices of the day.” (42) But, as a set off
 against this statement, forced from him by the truth,
 he adds, that in general they take at night more
 wine or other sorts of drink than is becoming. Yet
 he does not accuse them of drinking to inebriation.
 (43) The most they could be charged with was,
 that according to the Irish custom they might have
 sat together drinking something after dinner, while
 some other nations, who indulge much more in eat-
 ing and in quantity and variety of meats than the
 Irish generally do, drink at the same time that they
 are eating. (44) He confesses, however, that some
 of them are exceedingly good men and without blemish.
 (45) What he stated concerning the clergy’s
 drinking gave great offence ; and Felix, bishop of
 Ossory, who supped on the evening of that day with
 the archbishop, being asked by him, what he thought
 of Giraldus’ discourse, answered ; “ He said bad
 things, and I was very near flying in his face, or, at
 least, making him a harsh reply ; for he called us
topers.” (46)

(36) Ware, *Bishops at Derry*. (Compare with *Not. 27*.) He
 says, that in the Annals of Connaught Amlave is called bishop of
 Kinel-Eogain. Hence it seems, that the see of Ardsrath *alias*
 Rathlure, or at least part of it, was at this time united with that
 of Derry.

(37) Ware *ib.* at *Ferns*, and Harris *ib.* Joseph O'Hethe must have been placed on the see of Ferns during the life-time of his predecessor Brigdin O'Cathlan, who lived until 1172 (see *Chap. xxix.* §. 5.) and who, it appears, resigned about *A.* 1155. Concerning a calumnious story, in which Joseph was included, see *Not.* 72. to *Chap. xxix.*

(38) Ware and Harris, *ib.* and at *Leighlin*. See also Giraldus, *De rebus a se gestis, Part. 2. cap. 13.*

(39) Giraldus, *ib.* I am much surprized to find, that Ware has assigned this synod to the year 1185 not only in his *Annals*, but likewise at *Bishops* (*Ferns, Albin O'Mulloy*). For it is evident from Giraldus, that it must have been held in 1186. He places it after the return of prince John to England, which was, as we have seen, in December, *A.* 1185. Ware himself in the *Annals* follows the order of Giraldus, mentioning John's departure from Ireland before the synod was assembled. Giraldus was present at this synod; but how could this have been, if it were held in 1185? He tells us himself that he came to Ireland with John, (above *Not.* 34.) and in Easter time; and Ware accordingly says, (*Annals* at *A.* 1185) that John landed at Waterford on the 5th day of Easter said year. Therefore Giraldus could not have attended a synod held in Dublin during the Lent of 1185. Harris, although (at *Albin O'Mulloy*) he has with Ware *A.* 1185, yet (at *Archbishops of Dublin, John Cumin*) speaks of the synod as held about 1186. He should have said in 1186, as is clear from Giraldus, and as it is marked by Fleury, *L.* 74. §. 8.

(40) Giraldus, *ib.* See also Fleury, *loc. cit.* Giraldus calls the guilty clergymen *Clerici nostrates*. They were a sample of the missionaries, who, as Adrian IV. and Alexander III. had flattered themselves, were under the auspices of Henry II. to instruct and reform the people of Ireland!

(41) He has given the substance of his discourse, *ib. cap. 14.* It is nearly the same, word for word, with what he has in *Topogr. Hib. Dist. 3. capp. 27, 28, 29, 30.*

(42) His words are (as *locc. citt.*); *Est autem terrae istius Clerus satis religione commendabilis; et inter varias, quibus pollet, virtutes castitatis praerogativa praeeminet et praececellit. Item Psalmis et horis, lectioni et orationi vigilanter inserviunt, et intra ecclesiae septa se continententes a divinis, quibus deputati sunt, officiis non re-*

cedunt. Abstinentie quoque et parsimonie ciborum non mediocriter indulgent, ita ut pars maxima cotidie fere, donec cuncta diei compleverint horarum officia, usque ad crepusculum jejument."

(43) Fleury (*L.* 74. §. 8.) quoting from Giraldus (*De rebus, &c. Part. 2. c. 14.*) gives an incorrect statement of what he said. He makes him speak of the *drunkenness* of the Irish clergy, although Giraldus went no farther than to charge them with drinking more than was proper, *quam deceret*. And then he omitted Giraldus' preceding encomium on them, touching on it merely in general terms. I may also remark, that he had no right to say, that Giraldus proved by *unanswerable arguments* the negligence of the Irish prelates. Those arguments were not, as will be seen, unanswerable, although Giraldus boasts that they were. Fleury copied Giraldus' boast, but so as that a reader would think, that the words are from Fleury himself. This historian was but too apt to copy without discrimination from prejudiced or ill-informed writers passages relative to matters of Irish ecclesiastical history, with which indeed he was poorly acquainted. Harris also (*Bishops of Ferns, at Albin O'Mulloy*) speaks of drunkenness; but Giraldus has not that word.

(44) What has been now observed shows the malignity of Giraldus in distorting a custom innocent in itself into a vice. Not being able to show, that the clergy drank to excess, he strove to misrepresent the practice of the country, as if it were more unbecoming to drink something *after* dinner than to drink as much as people do in some other countries *during* their long dinners. He acknowledges, however, that whatever the Irish clergy did drink did not lead to any breach of chastity, and says; "*Hoc pro miraculo duci potest, quod ubi vina dominantur, Venus non regnat.*" Surely this is a sufficient proof, that they were moderate with regard to drinking.

(45) "*Sunt tamen nonnulli inter hos optimi et sine fermento sincerissimi.*"

(46) Giraldus *De rebus, &c. Part. 2. c. 15.* *Potores* was the word used by Felix, which Harris (*loc. cit.*) has inaccurately translated *drunkards*. The conceited and boasting Giraldus speaks with delight of his discourse, and of his having raised the spirits of his countrymen, who had been attacked by Albin O'Mulloy. In

his wish for revenge he misrepresented matters as much as he could.

§. VII. The canons agreed to in this synod are still extant, and are as follow. (47) The 1st prohibits priests from celebrating mass on a wooden table (or altar,) according to the usage of Ireland, and enjoins, that in all monasteries and baptismal churches altars should be made of stone; and, if a stone of sufficient size to cover the whole surface of the altar cannot be had, that in such case a square entire and polished stone be fixed in the middle of the altar, where Christ's body is consecrated, of a compass broad enough to contain five crosses and also to bear the foot of the largest chalice. But in chapels, chauntries, or oratories, if they are necessarily obliged to use wooden altars, let the mass be celebrated upon plates of stone of the before-mentioned size firmly fixed in the wood. (48)

The 2d provides, that the coverings of the holy mysteries may spread over the whole upper part of the altar, and that a cloth may cover the front of the same and reach to the ground (or floor). These coverings to be always whole and clean.

3d. That in monasteries and rich churches chalices be provided of gold and silver; but in poorer churches, where such cannot be afforded, that then pewter chalices may serve the purpose, which must be always kept whole and clean. (49)

4th. That the Host, which represents the Lamb without spot, the *Alpha* and *Omega*, be made so white and pure, that the partakers thereof may thereby understand the purifying and feeding of their souls rather than their bodies. (50)

5th. That the wine in the Sacrament be so tempered with water, that it be not deprived either of the natural taste or colour. (51)

6th. That all vestments and coverings belonging to the church be clean, fine, and white. (52)

7th. That a lavatory of stone or wood be set up, and so contrived with a hollow, that whatever is poured into it may pass through and lodge in the earth; through which also the last washings of the priest's hands after the holy communion may pass.

8th. Provides, that an immoveable font be fixed in the middle of every baptismal church, or in such other part of it as the paschal procession may conveniently pass round. That it be made of stone, or of wood lined with lead for cleanness, wide and large above, bored through to the bottom, and so contrived that, after the ceremony of baptism be ended, a secret pipe be so contrived therein as to convey the holy water down to mother earth. (53)

9th. That the coverings of the altar, and other vestments dedicated to God, when injured by age, be burnt within the inclosure of the church, and the ashes of them transmitted through the aforesaid pipe of the font, to be buried in the bowels of the earth.

10th. Prohibits any vessel used in baptism to be applied ever after to any of the common uses of men. (54)

11th. Prohibits under the pain of an anathema any person to bury in a church yard, unless he can show by an authentic writing, or undeniable evidence, that it was consecrated by a bishop, not only as a sanctuary or place of refuge, but also for a place of sepulture; (55) and that no laymen shall presume to bury their dead in such a consecrated place without the presence of a priest.

12th. Prohibits the celebration of divine service in chapels built by laymen to the detriment of the mother churches. (56)

13th. Since the clergy of Ireland, among other virtues, have been always remarkably eminent for their chastity, and that it would be ignominious if they should be corrupted, through his (the archbishop's) negligence, by the foul contagion of strangers, and the example of a few incontinent

men; he therefore forbids, under the penalty of losing both office and benefice, that no priest, deacon, or sub-deacon should keep any woman in their houses, either under the pretence of necessary service, or any other colour whatsoever, unless a mother, own sister, or such a person whose age should remove all suspicion of any unlawful commerce. (57)

14th. Contains an interdict against simony under the before-mentioned penalty of losing both office and benefice.

15th. Appoints that, if any clerk should receive an ecclesiastical benefice from a lay hand, unless after a third monition he renounce that possession which he obtained by intrusion, he should be anathematized and for ever deprived of the said benefice.

16th. Prohibits a bishop from ordaining the inhabitant of another diocese without the commendatory letters of his proper bishop, or of the archdeacon. (58) Nor that any one be promoted to holy orders without a certain title of a benefice assigned to him. (59)

17th. Prohibits the conferring on one person two holy orders in one day.

18th. Provides, that all fornicators shall be compelled to celebrate a lawful marriage, and also that no person born in fornication should be promoted to holy orders, nor should be esteemed heir either to father or mother, unless they be afterwards joined in lawful matrimony. (60)

19th. Provides, that tythes be paid to the mother churches (61) out of provisions, hay, the young of animals, flax, wool, gardens, orchards, and out of all things, that grow and renew yearly, under pain of an anathema after the third monition; and that those, who continue obstinate in refusing to pay, shall be obliged to pay the more punctually for the future. (62)

20th. Provides, that all archers, and all others, who carry arms not for the defence of the people,

but for plunder and sordid lucre, shall on every Lord's day be excommunicated by bell, book, and candle, and at last be refused Christian burial.

These canons were not long after confirmed by Pope Urban III. (63)

(47) Harris says, (*Archbishops of Dublin, John Cumin or Comyn*) that they are among the archives preserved in Christ. church, Dublin, yet so miserably defaced by time, that many words of them are not now legible, but that the substance of them may be collected. As I have not been able to see the original, I lay before the reader his abstract of them, adding however some observations.

(48) This last mode is the one followed at this day in the Catholic chapels of Ireland. It is allowed, that before the times of Constantine the great the Christian altars or holy tables were generally made of wood; and it is clear from St. Augustin, (*Ep. 50. ad Bonifac.*) Optatus, (*Lib. 6. p. 94.*) and St. Athanasius, (*Ep. ad solitar. vitam. agentes*) that this practice continued later in Africa and Egypt. It has been said, that Pope Sylvester I. ordered, that altars should henceforth be only of stone; but of this there is no sufficient proof; or, if he issued any such order, it was not generally obeyed. The very altar of St. John Lateran's was in his time of wood. The first decree relative to this point seems to be that of the council of Epone in France held *A. D.* 517, which in its 26th canon declared; "*Altaria, nisi lapidea, chrismatis unctione non sacrentur.*" (See more in Bingham's *Origines B.* VIII. *ch.* 6. *sect.* 15.) It is therefore not to be wondered at, that the Irish made their altars of wood from the beginning, and that they continued to do so in consequence of their steady attachment to the practices received from St. Patrick.

(49) We have seen, (*Chap. xvi. §. 1.*) that the great St. Columbanus made use of chalices of brass. Chalices of glass were used in various countries, and I have mentioned (*Not. 47. to Chap. 1.*) a remarkable instance of them at a very early period in Ireland.

(50) Regulations similar to this were observed in other churches. In the monastery of Clugni, as related by Ulric *on its practices*,

(see Fleury, *L.* 63. §. 60.) the most strict attention was paid to the pureness and whiteness of the bread for the use of the altar, and the preparing of it was considered as a religious ceremony, in which priests, deacons, and novices were engaged amidst the singing of psalms.

(51) This rule was directed against a custom, which some priests had adopted, particularly in Spain, of putting more water into the chalice than was proper.

(52) What is here said of whiteness cannot be understood of all the vestments and coverings, some of which were not white, but merely of such of them as according to general usage ought to be white.

(53) This canon was made in conformity with the second of the synod of Cashel. (See *Chap.* xxix. §. 3.

(54) This regulation does not imply, that said vessel should be destroyed, but simply that thenceforth it should be used only for sacred purposes.

(55) The reasons, or at least one of them, for passing this decree was probably to check the impertinence, for I cannot call it by a better name, of certain monks, who pretended, that extraordinary and indeed monstrous privileges were attached to burials in their cemeteries, or within their precincts, and that persons there interred received wonderful advantage from that circumstance. Instances of such pretended and absurd prerogatives may be seen in the Life of St. Moedoc of Ferns (*cap.* 36.), and in the first one of St. Kieran of Saigir (*cap.* 38.) on which Colgan has a long and injudicious note, in which he strives to explain these vile fables. On the whole this canon was levelled against such persons, whether monks or others, who endeavoured to draw funerals to their premises, by making them prove, that such places had been duly consecrated as burying grounds.

(56) What Harris calls *mother-churches* must be in the original *Ecclessiae matrices*, by which were understood, at that time, not only cathedrals, but likewise parish or baptismal churches.

(57) This canon was ordered in consequence of what appeared on the charges brought by Albin O'Mulloy against the foreign clergy.

(58) This general rule of the Church was observed in Ireland from very ancient times, according to the 30th canon of the synod

of Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus; “ *Episcopus quislibet, qui de sua in alteram progreditur parochiam (dioecesim) nec ordinare præsumat, nisi permissionem acceperit ab eo, qui in suo principatu est.*”

(59) It was very proper in these times to enforce this regulation; for, as Fleury observes, (*Instit. au Droit Eccles. Part 1. ch. 7.*) the abuse of conferring orders absolutely, that is, without a fixed title, became very general in the 12th century. This abuse had been guarded against in the above-mentioned Irish synod, the third canon of which is, “ *Clericus vagus non sit in plebe.*”

(60) The latter part of this canon is more of a civil than an ecclesiastical nature, and was, I suppose, authorized by the king or his ministers in Ireland. In the old Irish synods I have not met with any assumption of power by the clergy with regard to political or civil matters; or if in some of their assemblies such matters were decided on, the reason was that Irish kings or princes were present at them. A remarkable instance of the respective exercise of authority on the part of Church and State occurred in the council of Mellifont. Donogh O'Melaghlin, prince of Meath, was condemned in it; but the clergy went no farther than to excommunicate him, whereas the decree, by which he was deprived of his principality, emanated from Murtoth O'Loghlin, king of Ireland, and the other princes there present. (See *Chap. xxviii. §. 4.*)

(61) See above *Not. 56.*

(62) This canon was certainly a plentiful sweeping commentary, in favour of the clergy, on the third of the synod of Cashel, *Chap. xxix. §. 3.*

(63) Harris. *Archbishops of Dublin at John Comyn.*

§. VIII. This year, 1186, is remarkable in Irish history for the translation of the remains of saints Patrick, Columba, and Brigid. They had, it is said, been discovered in Down in the preceding year. (64) That St. Patrick had been buried at Down seems to be the most probable opinion, although some of his reliques were certainly preserved at Armagh. (65) St. Columba's body was originally in Hy; (66) but the shrine containing it was brought to Ireland in 878, or, as others say, 876, and, according to

every probability, deposited in Down. (67) Not very long before this time the remains of St. Brigid, which had been from the beginning at Kildare, were removed also to Down. (68) The following account is given of this discovery and translation. (69) It being generally believed that the bodies of the three saints were in Down, Malachy its bishop used to pray frequently to God, that he would vouchsafe to point out to him the particular place or places, in which they were concealed. While on a certain night fervently praying to this effect in the church (cathedral) of Down, he saw a light, like a sun-beam, traversing the church, which stopped at the spot, where the bodies were. Immediately procuring the necessary implements he dug in that spot and found the bones of the three bodies, which he then put into distinct boxes or coffins and placed again underground. Having communicated what had occurred to John de Courcey, then lord of Down, they determined on sending messengers to Pope Urban III. for the purpose of procuring the removal or translation of these reliques to a more respectable part of the church. The pope agreeing with their request sent as his legate on this occasion Vivian, Cardinal priest of St Stephen in *monte Caelio*, who had been at Down nine years before, and who was well acquainted with John de Courcey and the bishop Malachy. (70) On his arrival the reliques were removed with the usual solemnities to a more distinguished part of the church on the 9th of June, the festival of St. Columba. They were deposited in one moment, according to the well known distich ;

*Nunc tres in Duno tumulto tumultantur in uno,
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius.* (71)

Besides the Cardinal there were present at this translation fifteen bishops, together with abbots, provosts, deans, archdeacons, priors, &c. It was resolved,

that the anniversary of it should be celebrated in Ireland as a festival, and that the feast of St. Columba should be transferred to the day after the Octave of said festival, that is, to the 17th of June. (72)

(64) Giraldus says, (*Topogr. Hib. Dist. 3. cap. 18.*) that they were found in the year, in which earl John, that is, prince John earl of Morton, first came to Ireland, which was, as we have seen, *A.* 1185. To show his learning, he states that the three saints were contemporary, although it is certain, that St. Patrick was dead many years before the birth of Columba.

(65) See *Chap. vii. §. 13.* and *ib. Not. 147, 148.*

(66) *Chap. xii. §. 15.* and *ib. Not. 232.*

(67) See *Chap. xxi. §. 14.* and *ib. Not. 140, 141.*

(68) See *Chap. ix. §. 6.*—*Not. 18.* to *Chap. viii.* and *Not. 141.* to *Chap. xxi.*

(69) It is contained in the Office of the Translation of saints Patrick, Columba, and Brigid, printed in Paris *A.* 1620, which has been republished by Colgan at the beginning of the *Tr. Th.* Part of it may be seen in Messingham's *Florilegium*, p. 208, *seqq.* and in Usher's *Prim.* p. 889. *seqq.*

(70) See *Chap. xxix. §. 12.* In the above-mentioned Office this Cardinal is called *John* instead of *Vivian*; but, as Usher has well observed, this is a mistake; for there was at that time no John of the title of St. Stephen, &c., whereas from the lists of Cardinals, it is known, that *Vivian* was the then Cardinal of said title.

(71) It is thus that this distich appears in the response to the 8th lesson of the before-mentioned Office. In the usual editions of Giraldus (*Topogr. Hib. Dist. 3. c. 18.*) it begins with, *In burgo Duno.* Other readings have, *Hi tres in Duno*, &c.

(72) In the Office there is a mistake, undoubtedly of a copyist, in assigning 4 *Idus Junii*, i. e. the 10th of June, instead of 5 *Idus*, for the feast of the Translation. The Office itself states, that the Translation took place on the 5 *Idus Junii*, or the 9th of June. It is therefore clear, that this was the day, on which the Translation was to be annually commemorated. Besides, why transfer the festival of St. Columba from its usual day, the 9th of June, if this were not the day, to which that of the Translation

was affixed? yet this regulation has not been observed; for St. Columba's festival is still kept on the 9th of June.

§. ix. In the same year, 1186, Hugh de Lacy, who had made himself lord of Meath, was killed on the 25th of July by a labouring man, whom some call O'Meey, who happened to be alone with him while he was inspecting some works of his new castle of Darmagh or Durrogh (in the now King's county), and who, while De Lacy was in a stooping posture, with one stroke of an axe severed his head from his body. (73) His death freed the king, Henry II., from the uneasiness occasioned to him by the ambitious views of De Lacy, who seemed to aspire to the sovereignty of all Ireland. Sometime in this year, but after the synod of Dublin, Albin O'Mulloy, abbot of Baltinglas, who had distinguished himself in that synod, was raised to the see of Ferns, which he held for a great number of years. (74) It is probable, that his promotion to it was owing to his zeal against the incontinent clergy, and to his being considered, particularly by archbishop Cumin, as a proper person to be placed over a diocese, in which the foreign clergymen abounded. To this year is assigned the death of three Irish prelates, the most celebrated of whom was Christian O'Conarchy, who had been bishop of Lismore and apostolic legate, and who had retired some years before to the Cistercian monastery of Kyrie eleison. (75) His name is marked in various calendars at the 18th of March, (76) whence it may be inferred, that this was the day of his death. Another was Gregory, bishop of Cork, of whom it is related, that he granted to the abbey of Thomas-court near Dublin, the church of St. Nessan in Cork. His immediate successor seems to have been one Reginald. The third was Malcallan, bishop of Clonfert. (77) In the same year Conor Maenmoigi rose up anew against his father, Roderic O'Conor, and drove him out of Connaught.

In Ulster also the infatuated Irish princes were quarrelling among themselves, and Donald son of Hugh O'Loghlin, king or prince of Tyrone, was compelled to resign his principality, and in his place was substituted Roderic O'Laherty. But, on his being killed in the following year, while ravaging Tirconnel, Donald resumed the sovereignty of Tyrone. (78)

(73) Ware, *Annals* at A. 1186. Lyttleton B. 5. &c. Leland observes (*History, &c. B. 1. ch. 5.*) from some Irish annals, that the fort or castle, which De Lacy was erecting at Durrough, was on the site of the ancient and highly respected monastery, which Columb-kill had founded in that place. He adds, that the irritation felt by the Irishman at this profanation of that venerable spot, was the cause, that excited him to commit that act.

(74) Ware, *Bishops* at *Ferns*. (75) See *Chap. xxix. §. 14.*

(76) Colgan, *AA. SS.* at *Acts of St. Christian, 18 Mart.*

(77) See Ware and Harris, *Bishops* at *Lismore, Cork, and Clonfert.*

(78) Ware, *Annals* at A. 1186.

§. x. Gerald Barry left Ireland and returned to Wales between Easter and Whitsuntide of said year 1186. (79) He took with him the materials, which he had collected for the tracts, that he intended to write concerning Ireland. (80) His opportunities for giving a faithful account of the country, were he even willing to do so, were not sufficient for such a task. It is clear, that he mixed very little with the native Irish, and that he had seen but a small part of Ireland. The time of his abode here was short; for, independently of what little time he might have spent in this country after his first arrival in 1183, (81) he was only about one year in it, reckoning from his second appearance among us on the 1st of April, 1185. (82) But what his lack of knowledge was not equal to, his malignity, vanity, and conceit-
edness supplied. He picked up every idle story,

that he met with among the foreign adventurers, basely distorted the nature and circumstances of customs innocent in themselves, and has related heaps of fables, many of which he was forced to acknowledge that he did not believe himself. (83) It is not my business to examine the many false charges which he has against the Irish nation in general. This has been done by others, (84) and, confining myself within the limits of ecclesiastical subjects, I shall touch only on such assertions of his as are relative thereto, or closely connected with them. In the first place I may mention his monstrous falshood concerning there being some parts of Ireland, in which many persons were not as yet baptized, and which the Christian religion had never reached. (85) He does not venture to point out any one of those places, but gives us a ridiculous fable, which he says he got from some sailors, of how, when tossed by storms amidst the ocean to the North or N. W. of Connaught, they fell in with an island, and a sort of savages in a boat, whom they discovered to be from some part of Connaught, and who not only knew nothing about Christ, but were ignorant even of the division of years, months, and weeks, and had never before seen a large ship. It would be a waste of time to undertake a serious refutation of this nonsense; and it is clear that, if any sailors related it to Giraldus, they did so merely to amuse themselves at his expense, on finding that he was apt to swallow all sorts of stories and lies. The latest account we have of any persons not Christians being in or near Connaught is that of the islanders of Immagh, who were converted by St. Fechin in the seventh century. (86) And who will imagine that, while so many Irish missionaries were for ages preaching the Gospel in foreign countries, even as far off as Iceland, they would have left behind them any of their own countrymen still in ignorance of the Christian religion? Or that St. Malachy, Gelasius of Armagh,

and the apostolic legates, who made so many visitations throughout Ireland, would have overlooked such ignorance, did it exist in any part of the country? In fact, there is not a single hint relative to it in any Irish document whatsoever.

(79) Giraldus, *De rebus a se gestis*, L. 2. cap. 16. Ware, who was mistaken as to the year of the synod of Dublin, (see above Not. 39.) fell into a similar mistake in placing (*Annals*) Giraldus' return to Wales in 1185. It was, as Giraldus himself informs us, during the Paschal time next after the holding of the synod, that he left Ireland.

(80) These tracts or works are two. The first is entitled *Topographia Hiberniæ sive De Mirabilibus Hiberniæ*, and is divided into three books, which he called *Distinctions*. The second work bears the title of *Expugnatio Hiberniæ*, or *Hibernia expugnata*, and also of *Historia Vaticinalis*. Wharton observes, (Preface to the second part or volume of his *Anglia Sacra*, p. 20. seqq.) that Giraldus published two editions of this work, the first dedicated to prince Richard, afterwards king of England, and the second dedicated to king John. The former is still in manuscript in the library of Lambeth, and is divided into three books, the third of which is entitled *De Vaticiniis*, beginning with these words; "*Quoniam in prioribus libris Merlini vaticinia tam Caledonii (Caledonii) quam Ambrosii locis competentibus, &c.*" A subsequent part of this book, and which is in the form of a preface, may be seen in Usher's *Ep. Hib. Sylloge*, No. 50. Usher thought, (Not. *ib.*) that Giraldus had not finished said third book; but he had not seen the MS. of Lambeth. It is on account of the prophecies of Merlin, &c. contained in that book, that the whole work was called *Historia Vaticinalis*. The second edition is divided into two books, and is that, which was published, together with the *Topographia*, &c. in the *Anglica, Hibernica, &c.* at Frankfort, A. D. 1602. It is in some parts more enlarged than the first, and in others curtailed. In it the passages from Merlin's prophecies are all omitted, except one. Leland remarks, (*B. 1. ch. 5*) that Giraldus had no right to entitle this work *Expugnatio Hiberniæ*, whereas Ireland was far from being subdued in his time. Indeed this is acknowledged by Giraldus himself in the second book, cap.

33. where he says, that the Irish became by dint of practical warfare better able to resist the invaders. He adds; "*Igitur in bellici certaminis exercitio (divina forte vindicta) populo diutius utroque statuto, adeo neuter ex toto, vel meruisse gratiam, vel demeruisse videtur, ut nec ille ad plenum victor in Palladis hactenus arcem victoriosus ascenderit, nec iste victus omnino plenae servitutis iugo colla submiserit.*"

(81) See above §. 3. and *Not.* 34.

(82) See §. 5.

(83) The work, in which his calumnies and lies against the people of Ireland chiefly abound, is the *Topographia Hiberniae*. This was found fault with by persons of his time for the many ridiculous fables it contains. Giraldus strove in what is called the first preface to *Hib. exp.* to answer the objections brought forward against it, and after calling it a noble work, *opus non ignobile*, and hypocritically referring to the Holy Scriptures, Fathers, &c. he says, that "he does not mean that all the things, which he has laid down, should be rashly believed, because he does not believe them himself so as to have no doubt about them." Then he adds "that he neither affirms nor denies such things." But why did he assert what he knew could not be proved? In like manner this malicious boaster speaks in a little tract called his *Retractations* (*Anglia sacra Vol. 2. p. 455.*); "*Imprimis igitur de Topographia Hibernica, labore sc. nostro primaevo fere nec ignobili, ubi multa nova aliisque regionibus prorsus incognita ideoque magis admiranda scribuntur, hoc pro certo sciendum, quorundam quinimo et quamplurimum per diligentem et certam indagationem a magnis terrae illius et authenticis viris notitiam elicuimus. De caeteris autem publicam potius terrae famam secuti fuimus. De quibus cum Augustino sentimus, qui in libro de Civitate Dei de talibus, quae solum fama celebrat nec certaveritate fulciuntur loquens, nec ea affirmanda plurimum nec prorsus abneganda decrevit.*" Who were those great and authentic men of Ireland, from whom he says he derived a great part of his information? We may be sure, that very few of them were Irishmen; and then he tells us, that as to other things, which by the bye form the greatest part of the work, he followed common report; fine authority for the description of a country! Giraldus often prides himself on the *Topographia*. Thus (*De rebus, &c. L. 2. c. 16.*) talking of his hav-

ing read it publicly for three days at Oxford he says, that he did so wishing not to leave the light under the bushel, but to raise it upon the candlestick; *lucernam accensam non sub modio ponere sed super candelabrum ut luceret erigere cupiens*; and there this swaggerer tells us how he entertained on the first day all the poor of that city. In his work, *De jure et statu Menevensis Ecclesiae* he boasts (*Distinct. 7.*) how the *Topographia* was admired by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, Robert de Bellofago, canon of Salisbury, and master Walter Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford, and how highly they spoke of Giraldus, as if there were scarcely any other such man in the world. But, he adds, how much more worthy of praise are the works, which he has published and is publishing in his maturer years, some of which have been held in great estimation by the Pope!!! Hence the reader may judge what a vain-glorious animal Giraldus was; and such beings are usually saucy, malignant, and liars.

(84) I scarcely need mention, that the chief writer, who has refuted Giraldus with regard to his account of Ireland, was John Lynch, under the name of Gratianus Lucius, in his learned work entitled *Cambrensis eversus*. Keating in the preface to his *History of Ireland* has proved the falshood of many of Giraldus' assertions. See also Mac-Geoghegan, *Pref. a l'Hist. de l'Irlande*.

(85) *Topogr. Hib. Dist. 3. cap. 26.*

(86) See *Chap. xvii. §. 10.*

§. XI. On some other points Giraldus is not so atrociously malignant; but he betrays his profound ignorance of the history of ecclesiastical discipline. On an occasion of abusing the whole nation, and representing them as uninformed in the very rudiments of faith, he gives as one of his arguments, "that they do not as yet pay tithes or first offerings." (87) This was, according to him and the clergy of his country and times, a violation of an article of faith! I allow, that the ancient Irish did not pay those dues, nor were they in general paid in Ireland during his time, except where the English influence predominated, notwithstanding the decrees of the councils of Kells and Cashel. (88)

Giraldus did not know, that such dues were not paid in the best times of the Church, and that it was not until very long after the days of St. Patrick that they were introduced, and indeed first of all into France, where they are now extinct. In Italy they are scarcely known; and yet the Italians cannot be said to be *uninformed in the very rudiments of faith*. Another argument, which he subjoins, is, “that they do not as yet contract marriages.” (89) He was unacquainted with the difference between the marriage, called *Sponsalia de praesenti*, and that styled *Sponsalia de futuro*. The Irish were, in general, strongly attached to the latter form, which in reality constituted, when united with certain conditions, as valid a marriage as the former. Giraldus, not understanding the nature of it, and finding that the Irish did not marry according to the mode practised in England and Wales, concluded that they did not contract matrimony. Having already treated largely of this subject, (90) I need not add more at present. He adds, “that they do not shun incest.” (91) For this charge or argument he had no foundation, except that the Irish had not universally received the system of the seven degrees of consanguinity or affinity, within which the canonists of those times prohibited marriage. (92) As some of them did not scruple to marry within said degrees, hence Giraldus accused them of committing incest. Another fault, which he finds, and, I allow, with better reason, is, that in some parts of Ireland men married the widows of their deceased brothers. (93) This abuse seems to have existed in Ireland; but, even according to Giraldus’ own words, it was far from being general; and it was contrary to the canons and ancient discipline of the Irish church. (94)

(87) *Topogr. &c Dist.* 3. c. 19.

(88) See *Chap.* xxvii. §. 15. and *Chap.* xxix. §. 3. The

Irish, however, knew, that tithes were paid in other countries, and some of their clergy seem to have wished, that they were established in Ireland. In the collection of ancient Irish canons published by Martene (*Thesaur. Nov. Anecd. Tom. 4.*) I find (*col. 12.*) some passages or rules relative to the tithe of animals and of the products of the earth, taken from a synod called *Sapientia*. But from the manner, in which they are drawn up, it appears that they contain rather a sort of canonical disquisition concerning tithes in general than regulations ordering the payment of them in Ireland. Keating says (*Preface*) that they were paid in this country before the arrival of Cardinal Paparo. But this practice was not general, nor, I believe, followed until a short time before that arrival. Yet I do not deny, that they might have been paid in some places through the exertions of Gillebert of Lime-*rick*, who mentions them in his tract *De statu Ecclesiae*, and of *St. Malachy*.

(89) *Topogr. ib.*

(90) *Not. 52. and 66. to Chap. xxvi. (91) Topogr. ib.*

(92) See *Chap. xxiv. §. 12. xxvi. §. 6. and ib. Not. 51. xxix. §. 4. and ib. Not. 17.*

(93) *Topogr. ib.*

(94) See *Not. 51. to Chap. xxvi.*

§. XII. As a proof of the Irish being rude in the principles of faith he states, that they do not frequent the church of God with due reverence. (95) But he does not tell us, in what manner they were deficient as to this point. They entertained, I believe, as much respect for churches as any of their neighbours, and he himself gives us a proof of it in relating a custom followed by them in forming confederacies and pledging each other to maintain mutual friendship. They meet, he says, (96) in some holy place and go round the church three times; after which entering the church they present themselves before the altar, on which the reliques of saints are placed, and, while mass is celebrated and holy priests praying on the occasion, become indissolubly united. This practice shows, that they had a great veneration for churches, as they made use of them

and of the church service for sanctioning their solemn obligations. To this narrative, however, he adds a most infamous lie concerning the parties drinking of each others' blood, and its often happening that, owing to a malicious trick, one or other of them loses all his blood and becomes lifeless. In the whole of our Irish history and in the accounts given by our old antiquaries, there is not the least allusion to such a horrid practice; (97) and can any one believe, that the shedding of blood would have been allowed in a church, contrary to the rule of the whole Christian world, or that the clergy and people present would have suffered any one to draw his own blood until he should lose his life? (98) Another proof of the respect paid by the Irish to churches is, that they used to consider them as sanctuaries and inviolable places. (99) One of Giraldus' general charges against the whole nation is, that they do not attend the bodies of the dead to ecclesiastical burial with the due obsequies. (100). How they were wrong in this respect (although their funerals were not exactly similar to those of England and Wales) I do not understand, unless he alluded to their not having been always very precise in having the funeral attended by a priest. That it should be so was ordered by the synod of Dublin, (101) whence there is some reason to think, that this becoming practice was sometimes neglected. It often happens in every country, especially in places where clergymen are scarce, that it is impossible to observe it at every funeral. But that funeral obsequies were regularly celebrated in Ireland, and that the bodies were, according to general rule, interred in the presence of clergymen, we have frequently seen, and might, if necessary, be proved from numberless passages of the Lives of our saints. (102) Giraldus adds, that in Ireland children are not catechized before the doors of the churches. (103) He alludes to the baptismal ceremony, concerning which

the synod of Cashel had passed a decree, (104) which seems to have been little attended to. Having already enlarged on this subject, (105) I need not add more about it in this place.

(95) *Topogr. ib.*

(96) *Ib. Dist. 3. c. 22.*

(97) See Keating, *Preface*, and Lynch, *Cambr. evers. cap. 29. p. 286, seqq.*

(98) This lie of Giraldus is on a par with an abominable one, which he has (*ib. cap. 25.*) about the mode of inaugurating the kings of Kenél-Cunil, that is, Tirconnel, and which, from the express testimony of the Irish antiquaries, who have described the inauguration of the kings of that country, has been proved to be diabolically false by Keating (*ib.*), Lynch, (*ib. cap. 30. p. 316.*) and Harris, *Antiquities, ch. 10.* The great St. Columba, who was of the royal house of Tirconnel, may be naturally supposed, when inaugurating Aidan king of the British Scots, to have followed, at least in some measure, the mode practised in his own country. Now we have seen, (*Chap. xi. §. 15.*) that, in performing that ceremony by order of the Almighty, he used a mode quite different from the beastly one, which the vile lying Giraldus strove to impose on the world.

(99) See *Chap. xxix. §. 12.*

(100) This charge is in his second book (*De rebus a se gestis, L. 2. cap. 14.*), where he has again some of those already discussed.

(101) 11th. canon, above §. 7.

(102) Ex. c. the Lives of saints Patrick, Columba, Ita, Senan, &c. &c.

(103) *De rebus, &c. L. 2. c. 14.*

(104) See *Chap. xxix. §. 3.* (105) *Ib. §. 4. and Not. 18.*

§. XIII. Giraldus exerted all his malignant cunning to decry the Irish bishops, being apparently jealous of the reputation of the great and holy prelates, who had in those times illustrated the Irish church. Besides his endeavours to detract from the good character, which he was forced to give of the

clergy at large. (106) he accuses the bishops of negligence and sloth in not correcting the vices of the people, and not content with alluding to those of his own time, he charges with this fault all the Irish prelates since the days of St. Patrick. (107) The impertinence of this scribbler is really intolerable. Did he not know, that in the very century, in which he wrote, some of the most active and zealous bishops of the whole Christian Church were to be found in Ireland, such as Celsus of Armagh, Gillebert of Limerick, Malchus of Lismore, St. Malachy, Muredach O'Dubthaig of Tuam, Gelasius of Armagh, Christian of Lismore, St. Laurence O'Toole, &c. who not only preached and instructed the people, but likewise held several synods, which were constantly well attended, and made many useful regulations relative to ecclesiastical discipline and Christian morality? As a proof of his base charge, he alleges that none of them had fought for religion and the Church so as to suffer martyrdom. It is true, that we do not find mentioned any of our bishops, who were put to death by Irishmen; but this merely proves what is very honourable to the national character, and shows that, notwithstanding whatever opposition the early preachers of the Gospel met with in Ireland, their adversaries were not of a sanguinary disposition, and entertained a great degree of respect for the Christian clergy. And it is remarkable that, although christianity was not propagated in Ireland by the blood of martyrs, there is no instance of any other nation, that universally received it in as short a space of time as the Irish did. Yet we had plenty of martyrs in Ireland, and some of them bishops, during the fury of the Danes; (108) and as to Irish prelates, who were crowned with martyrdom in foreign countries, I need only refer the reader to what we have seen concerning St. Livinus in Brabant, St. Kilian of Wurtzburg, St. Rumold of Mechlin, and St. John of Mecklenburgh. Geraldus relates, that

in a conversation with Maurice, archbishop of Cashel, whom he calls a learned and discreet man, in the presence of another Giraldus, a clerk of the Roman church, who had come to Ireland with some message, (109) he pressed him with this argument against the Irish bishops, to which Maurice replied; “It is true that, although our nation may seem barbarous, uncultivated, and rude, yet they were always wont to pay great honour and reverence to ecclesiastical men, and not to stretch their hands on any occasion against the saints of God. But now a nation is come into this kingdom, which knows how and is accustomed to make martyrs. Henceforth Ireland shall, like other countries, have martyrs.” (110)

(106) See above §. 6.

(107) *Topogr. Hib. Dist. 3. cap. 28.* and *De rebus, &c. L. 2. c. 14.*

(108) See Lynch, *Camb. evers. cap. 31.*

(109) Ware, or his translator, was mistaken (*Annals*, at 1185) in calling this Giraldus a *legat from the Pope*. He was merely a messenger on some particular business.

(110) *Topographia, &c. Dist. 3. c. 32.*

§. xiv. Much of this pretended indolence of the Irish bishops is attributed by Giraldus to their being usually chosen out of monasteries; and he says that, while they strictly fulfil their monastic duties, they neglect their pastoral obligations. (111) Passing by a sort of affected jingling rhetoric, with which he enlarges on this subject, I shall, although I do not pretend that monks are the fittest persons to be appointed bishops, merely observe, that some of our greatest bishops of those days had belonged to that class. Malchus of Lismore, Gelasius of Armagh, St. Laurence O'Toole, Christian of Lismore, had been monks, and St. Malacy, although originally not one, yet practised the monastic life. It seems

that Giraldus had a secret object in view, *viz.* to prevent monks from being raised to bishoprics. (112) He mentions, but without any reprehension, the great veneration, in which were held the portable bells, and the staffs of saints, curved at the top, and covered with gold, silver, or brass, observing that a similar veneration was paid to them in Scotland and Wales. (113) These staffs were originally, as we have often seen, the crosiers of holy bishops or abbots. Among other singular and strange things he relates several standing miracles of Irish saints, the accounts of which he picked up from the stories of vulgar and ignorant people. (114) He mentions one with extraordinary admiration, the book containing a concordance of the four Gospels, according to the correction of St. Jerome, which was preserved at Kildare, and states that it was made up miraculously through the intervention of an angel and the prayers of St. Brigid. The almost innumerable figures and miniatures, he says, with which it is all through ornamented, are so exquisitely beautiful and elegant, and the colours so fresh, that it is easy to perceive, that it was the work rather of an angel than of a man. (115) But we need not look for a miracle to account for the composition of that beautiful book; and it merely proves, that the arts of calligraphy and miniature had been carried to great perfection in Ireland. (116)

(111) *Ib. cap.* 29, 30. and *De rebus, &c. L. 2. c.* 14.

(112) It appears, that Giraldus had an aversion to monks. One of his tracts was entitled *De Cisterciensium nequitiiis*. We find him afterwards contending against a monk, the prior of Lhanthony, for the see of St. David's, in which contest he was foiled. (See Harris, *Writers at Gerald Barry.*)

(113) *Topogr. Dist.* 3. c. 33.

(114) *Ib. Dist.* 2. *capp.* 28-29. *seqq.* Ledwich, to show his learning, has brought forward (*Antiq. &c. p.* 37.) some of these stories relative to St. Kevin, and talks of the *impious and foolish*

tales of ignorant and superstitious ecclesiastics. Who told him, that all these tales were invented by ecclesiastics? And what a mighty theologian and lover of truth is this so-called antiquary!

(115) Giraldus, *ib. capp.* 38, 39.

(116) That painting was anciently cultivated in Ireland is clear from Cogitosus, who (*Vita S. Brig. cap.* 35.) speaks of the pictures, with which St. Brigid's great church at Kildare was decorated. Several persons are marked in our history as elegant transcribers and ornamenters of books, *ex. c.* St. Dagaëus, of whom above (*Chap. x. §. 14.*), and the monk Ultan, who was famous in this respect. (See Dr. O'Connor, *Rer. Hib. Ser. Ep. Nunc. p.* 179.)

§. xv. Giraldus talks about some wonderful islands in Ireland, and mentions strange things, not worth inquiring into, concerning what is vulgarly called Patrick's Purgatory. (117) He tells us, that in North Munster there is a lake, containing two islands, one larger and the other smaller. The larger one, he says, has a church of *ancient veneration*; the lesser a chapel, which is devoutly served by a few unmarried men, who are called *Colidei*, which in his manner, he wisely explains by *coelicolae*, or worshippers of heaven. He then goes on with some nonsensical stories, as how no female of any species could ever enter the larger island without dying immediately, and how in the smaller one nobody ever dies, ever did die, or could die, for which reason it is called the *island of the living*. But its residents are subject to grievous diseases, and, when tormented with them to such a degree that all hopes of being freed from them are gone, they get themselves removed in a boat to the larger island, which as soon as they touch they immediately give up the ghost. (118) This wonderful island is no other than that called by some *Inchinemeo*, or rather *Inish-na-mbeo* corresponding to *Island of the living*, by others *Inis-locha-cre* (119) (the island of the lake or bog about three miles from Roscrea) and since known by

the name of Monaincha. According to Giraldus the Colidei, who lived there, were not, properly speaking, monks; for he merely calls them *coelibes* or unmarried men. (120) In his time the island was a place of pilgrimage; but afterwards the residents removed to Corbally, a place not far from it without the lake, where they became Canons Regular of St. Augustin, and had a priory under the name of St. Hilary or St. Mary. (121) As to the name, *Island of the living*, it meant nothing more than that it was a place where men might live in the service of God, in the same manner as monasteries were called *De Valle salutis*; *De Beatitudine*, &c.; and the fable of no one dying there was unheard of by our old historians and annalists. We have an instance of how people could and did die there in the case of a very respectable man, Moelpatrick O'Druggan, who died in that island *A. D.* 1138. (122) How Giraldus picked up that stuff is of no consequence; he was probably imposed upon by some droll fellow, who explained the name in a new way peculiar to himself. The other story concerning females not daring to enter the larger island was in all appearance founded on there having been there of old some religious community, which made it a rule, not uncommon in some parts of Ireland, not to admit women within their precincts.

(117) *Topogr. &c. Dist.* 2, c. 5. Although it was not very long since this purgatory came into vogue, (see *Chap.* VII. §. 14.) yet Giraldus found it out. But, as Lynch has shown, (*Cambr. evers.* p. 10.) his account of it does not agree with that of Henry of Salterey, of whom see *Not.* 150. to *Chap.* VII.

(118) Giraldus, *ib.* cap. 4. What I have translated, *The larger one has a church of ancient veneration*, is in the original, "*Major ecclesiam habet antiquae religionis.*" Here we meet with an egregious sample of Ledwich's profound ignorance even of Latin. He translates (p. 69.) the words now quoted; "In the greater is

a church of *the ancient religion*," meaning to insinuate, that there had been before Giraldus' times another and a different Christian religion in Ireland, *viz.* that of his dear Culdees, concerning whom he has a heap of intolerable trash, of which more by and by. Who, that knew any thing of Latin, could, except this blockhead, have rendered those words in that manner? Surely, when the word, *religio*, is used in speaking of places, it means *veneration, respect, sacred feeling*. Thus Ovid has (x *Metam.* 693) *Religione sacer prisca (recessus)*; and Virgil (viii. *Aen.* 344.) *Jam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestes—Sacra loci*. Giraldus was fond of using this phrase, when describing places of ancient religious celebrity. *Ex. c.* he says (*ib. cap.* 30.); "In australi Momonia, circa partes Corcagiae, est insula quaedam, ecclesiam continens sancti Michaelis *antiquae nimis et autenticae religionis*, that is greatly and justly respected from very old times. If Giraldus meant, as Ledwich would interpret it, by *religionis* faith or Christian doctrine, how would not this passage disconcert our antiquary, whereas Giraldus calls it *authentic*, which he certainly would not have done, had it been different from the faith and christianity, which he professed himself? Elsewhere (as *ib. cap.* 5.) he has *probatae religionis ecclesiam*, which Ledwich (*p.* 70.) translates *a church of the orthodox faith*, wishing to show, that it belonged to what he calls the *ancient religion* and to Culdees, although Giraldus does not (*ib.*) make the least allusion to such persons. He is there speaking of Lough Derg, and its island in which is Patrick's purgatory, one part of which, he says, is very pleasant and attended by angels, while the other is full of devils. Here Ledwich complains, that Giraldus breathes a vindictive spirit against the *ancient religion*. It is difficult to convey to the reader the meaning of the muddy effusions of this stupid Doctor; but he seems to charge Giraldus with transforming the poor Culdees into the devils of Lough Derg. Now Giraldus was at that time no more thinking of Culdees or of *old religion* than he was of Ledwich himself. Instead of the word *coelibes*, which Giraldus has speaking of the Colidei of the smaller island, Ledwich inserted (*p.* 69.) *monks*; for he did not like that the Culdees, whom he represents as married men, should be expressly said not to have been married.

(119) This is the name given to it by Colgan. *Tr. Th.* p. 281. and 304.

(120) I do not understand, why Archdall (at *Monaincha*) says, that the Culdees of this place, whom he inaccurately calls *monks*, had an abbey under the invocation of St. Columba. For this he gives us no authority, and I strongly suspect that he had none, except the preconceived unfounded supposition, that the persons, called *Culdees*, were Columbian monks.

(121) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 26 at *Tipperary*. Here again we meet with the mighty Ledwich, who (*p.* 74) talking about Augustinians (he did not understand the difference between them and the Canons Regular) and the removal to Corbally, conjectures that the present abbey of Monaincha, *i. e.* what remains of it, was erected about the beginning of the 13th century. Be it so; but it is amusing to observe, how he proves his thesis. “The *Augustinians* (he should have said, *Augustin Canons*) did not appear in this kingdom until 1193; for at that time earl Strongbow brought four from Bodmyn, in Cornwall, to his abbey of Kells in the county of Kilkeny.” This is antiquarian lore with a vengeance. In the first place there were Augustin Canons, *alias* Canons Regular of St. Augustin, long before 1193; for, as has been seen, we had some of them since the times of St. Malachy and the holy Imar of Armagh; O’Carrol, prince of Ergall, and Edan O’Killedy, bishop of Clogher, founded an abbey for them at Louth in 1148; Hugh de Lacy formed establishments for them in Meath about 1182; John de Courcey erected a priory for them at Down in 1183; and, not to tire the reader with repetitions, the very abbey of St. Thomas near Dublin, which was founded in 1177, belonged to them, that is, to the particular branch called the Congregation of St. Victor. Next, the Doctor tells us, that Strongbow brought four members of this order from Cornwall to Ireland in said year 1193. How could that be, whereas Strongbow was dead since 1176. He refers to Archdall, who (at *Kells*) mentioning the foundation of that priory by Geoffry Fitz-Robert in 1193, says something in a confused manner about Strongbow. But he does not state, that it was Strongbow that brought over those four persons. Supposing, however, that he had, was it not our great antiquary’s duty to correct him? The poor man was not able; what an antiquary! Or what must be thought of a man, who

had the assurance to patch up and publish a big book on the Antiquities of Ireland, while he was so little acquainted with the history of the country as not to know even the year of Strongbow's death; and what of the asinine readers, who have praised that farrago of ignorance and petulance!!

(122) *Vit. S. Gelasii*, cap. 9. *Tr. Th.* p. 281 and. 304. and above *Chap.* XXVII. §. 2.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Colidei or Culdees, inquiry concerning them—Deaths of several bishops, priors, professors, &c.—Priory of St. John Baptist, Dublin, founded—John De Courcey defeated by the Irish—Donald O'Loghlin killed in battle—Death of Henry II.—Irish Bishops who attended his funeral—Cathedral of St. Patrick, Dublin, erected on the site of an old parochial church—Foundation of different abbeys—Deaths of more bishops—Synod at Dublin under Matthew O'Heney, the Pope's legate—Glendalough united to Dublin—Several religious houses founded—The See of Meath removed from Clonard to Newtown near Trim—Religious houses founded by Donald O'Brien—Death of Donald—Cruelties practised on his family by the English—Contest for the See of Ross—Hamo de Valois, Justiciary of Ireland, invades ecclesiastical property—Seizes on several lands belonging to the See of Dublin, and on the temporalities of Leighlin, &c.—Death of King Roderic—Contention of the Connaught princes for the kingdom—Foundation of several religious houses.

SECT. I.

THE mention made by Giraldus of the *Colidei* affords us an opportunity of examining, what was the description of persons understood by that name. If ever subjects plain and easy in themselves have been distorted, misrepresented, and corrupted through ignorance and religious prejudice, this question merits a distinguished place among them. The obscurity, in which it has been involved, is owing to some Scotch writers, who took it into their heads to announce, that before the coming of Palladius the Scots were taught and governed by priests and monks alone without bishops. (1) By *Scots* they meant the inhabitants of North Britain, as if the real Scots were settled there at that time, or as if there were then a Scottish kingdom in that country, a silly supposition, which we have over and over seen to be false. (2) Had those writers merely said, that in Ireland, the then only country of the Scots, there were some priests without any bishop until Palladius was sent to them, their assertion would imply nothing wrong or fabulous. (3) Other later Scotch authors have added, that those priests or monks were called *Culdei*, and that they were in Scotland as far back as the reigns of the emperors Decius, Aurelian, and Diocletian, that is, in the third century. (4) Several antiepiscopal writers, particularly Scotch, seized upon this fable, endeavouring to prove from it, that the primitive government of the Christian church was presbyterian; for, say they, those *Culdei* used to elect their superiors or superintendents, either under the title of *bishop* or not, without requiring a consecration by any bishop strictly so called. (5) But, it having been proved that there was not any church governed in this manner at that early period in Scotland, nor any such persons there

in those times as Culdei or Culdees, (6) a new system was formed, according to which the Culdees were the disciples and followers of Columbkil, and who preserved for centuries the purer doctrines and discipline of Christianity, presbyterianism, &c. until at length they were put down by the church of Rome. (7) One of the chief grounds alleged for this hypothesis consists in a false preconception, that Columbkil did not consider bishops necessary for ordaining priests, (8) and thence it was concluded that the monks of Hy, and accordingly the Culdees, held the same opinion. This stuff was founded on the singular circumstance of Columbkil and his successors at Hy having, although merely priests, exercised a sort of jurisdiction over the bishops of the Northern Picts, and perhaps of the British Scots. (9) But it has been proved over and over, that the exercise of this privilege did not imply any such idea as that of the equality of bishops and priests, and that Columbkil and his followers strictly maintained the superiority, by divine right, of the former over the latter. (10) Now it happens unluckily for this fanciful theory of the Culdees being derived from Columbkil, that in none of the Lives of that saint, nor in Bede, who very often treats of the Columbian order and monks, nor in the whole history of the monastery of Hy and of its dependencies, the name of *Culdees* or any name tantamount to it, ever once occurs. (11) This would have been impossible, had the Culdees been Columbians and members of the order or congregation of Hy.

(1) John of Fordon, who lived in the 14th century, laid down this position, adding that such was the rule of the primitive church. See more about him *Not.* 130. to *Chap.* 1.

(2) *Ex. c.* See *Not.* 29. to *Chap.* 1. and *Chap.* ix. §. 1.

(3) See *Chap.* 1. §. 15. and *ib.* *Not.* 132.

(4) Hect. Boethius, *Scot. Hist.* L. 6. Buchanan, *Rer. Scot. rrx.* 35. &c.

(5) This fictitious system has been supported by Blondel (see *Not.* 130 to *Chap.* 1.) and Selden, (*Preface* to Twysden's x *Scriptores*) who, on occasion of a passage relative to the Keledei (whom he calls *Culdei*) in an account given of Turgot of Durham, when made bishop of St. Andrews, and which will be seen lower down, heaps together in his usual overwhelming and obscure manner a multitude of quotations, which, for the far greatest part, are quite irrelevant to the question, and all of which prove nothing at all as to the special fact or rights of the Culdei, unless we are to receive as good authorities such writers as Hector Boethius. It was a shame for Selden to stoop to some silly conjectures in treating those points; for instance, after striving to insinuate that Adamnan of Hy and Adamnan of Coludi (see *Chap.* XVIII. §. 5.) were one and the same person, he relates as probable, that Coludi was so called from its being frequented by Culdei.

(6) Lloyd (*On Church government, chap.* 7.) has treated this subject with great clearness and strength of argument, and has demonstrated the falsehood and absurdity of the whole of that wretched story. Toland (*Nazarenus, Letter* 2. *sect.* 3.) carps at Lloyd, but without being able to overturn the main points laid down by him. He attacks Lloyd for having called that Culdee system a *monkish dream*; for, as he argues, there were persons in Scotland called *Culdees*, or rather *Keldees*. But this, so far from being denied by Lloyd, is admitted by him; and he even quotes passages, whence it appears that there were such persons there since about the ninth century. What Lloyd styled a *monkish dream* is the fable of there having been from very old times in Scotland a presbyterian church governed by the so-called Culdees. Now Toland, although in his cavilling way he quotes Fordon, &c. does not attempt to prove, that there was such a church; for he had learning enough to know, that so senseless a paradox could not be maintained.

(7) A number of Scotch writers have laid down as a truism, that the Culdees were originally Columbian monks, Smith supposes it as a fact, (*Life of St. Columba, p.* 118.) where he has some raving about "a large body of pastors and people in the isles and mountains of Scotland, who, like the Waldenses of the Alps, maintained the worship of God in its simplicity, and the Gospel in its purity for many generations, when it was greatly

corrupted in other places." He says, however, that this is a fact not generally known. And indeed how could it, or how did he know it himself? What a shame to make such assertions without any authority whatsoever of the many documents, relative to the ecclesiastical state of these countries, that were drawn up during those generations, and in not one of which is there the least allusion to those holy Waldenses of Scotland, unless the true worship of God and purity of the Gospel be supposed to consist in celebrating Easter at a particular time, and using a peculiar sort of tonsure! But on these points, the mighty arguments of the discoverers of the Scotch Waldenses, I have said more than enough in their own place. The system of the Culdees being derived from Columbkil is followed also by Jamieson in his *Historical Account of the Ancient Culdees*, a big book replete with errors of various sorts. This writer has picked up a good deal from Ledwich, whom he now and then honours with referring to; whereas our antiquary also makes Columbkil the founder of the Culdees, but with this difference that, instead of allowing that they were presbyterians, he maintains, (*Antiq. p. 60*) that they were episcopalians.

(8) Jamieson strives (*Historical, &c. p. 48. seqq.*) to prove this notoriously false assumption, and (*p. 36. seqq.*) would fain make us believe, that the monks of Hy were presbyterians. Speaking of Colman of Lindisfarne or York, who called himself a *bishop* (*ap. Bede, Eccl. Hist. L. 3. c. 25.*) Jamieson pretends, that he received not only his appointment but even his episcopal power from the *College of elders*. This writer seems not to understand the very terms of Church discipline and Canon law.

(9) See *Chap. XII. § 15.* and *ib. Not. 234.* Jamieson here and there has the old mistake of the North of Ireland being also subject to Hy.

(10) See *ib. and Not. 235.*

(11) In the five *Lives of St. Columba*, published by Colgan (*Tr. Th.*), there is no mention whatsoever of Culdees, not even in that by O'Donnel, who raked together every thing that he could collect relative to the saint's proceedings, and who wrote at a time when there were Culdees, as they are vulgarly called, in Ireland. Bede, notwithstanding all that he has about Columba and his disciples, and concerning the Irish missions in the North

of England and elsewhere, the leaders of which were Columbians, as likewise about the practices of the Scots both of Ireland and Britain, and of the Northern Picts, is quite silent as to any persons called *Culdees* or by any similar name; and it must appear evident to an attentive dispassionate reader of Bede's works, that there was not such an order of men existing in his times. Colgan has employed 23 large folio pages (from 487 to 510) of his *Tr. Th.* in giving from writers of various ages, an account of St. Columba's disciples, and of the Columbian monasteries, churches, and their superiors, the chronicles of Hy and its abbots, distinguished men, &c. down to the 13th century, and similar ones of the Columbian houses of Derry, Durrough, Kells, Raphoe, Swords, Raghlin island, Fathan, and Drumclieff. Yet in this minute account, including so many centuries, and in which hundreds of names are mentioned, there is not a word about Culdees, nor is any one among those hundreds of persons designated by any name or title like it. Hence it is as clear as day light, that they did not by any means belong to the Columbian institution; and accordingly, besides many others, Nicholson was mistaken (*Pref. to Irish Histor. Library* p. 30. *Octav. ed.* 13. *fol. ed.*) in saying, that the Culdees were of the Irish rule carried into Scotland by St. Columb. It is probable, that they were in Ireland earlier than in Scotland, to which country, however, they were not carried by St. Columb. But what are we to think of Ledwich, who, having pretended to draw up (*Antiq. Essay* 3. 1st. *ed.*) a history of the Irish Culdees, not content with following this opinion, has the audacity frequently to refer to Bede as expressly speaking of Culdees? Thus he says, (p. 62.) that "Bede, though closely attached to the See of Rome, yet with candour and truth confesses the merits of the Culdees"; refers (p. 64. *seqq.*) to Bede for Aidan and his Irish missionaries in Northumberland, as likewise for his successors Finan and Colman, besides others, having been Culdees; tells us, that Bede's third book is chiefly in praise of the Culdees; speaks, as if from Bede, of Adamnan of Hy having been a Culdee, adding that he apostatized, and then groans over the downfall of the illustrious seminaries of the Culdees of Hy and Lindisfarne. Is it possible to bear with such a train of imposture? Bede never mentions Culdees, nor did he know of any such persons in the world. As

to Ledwich's balderdash about the apostacy of Adamnan and the downfall of Hy, &c. we have seen elsewhere. The paschal and tonsural disputes were always running in this stupid man's head, and they formed the bulk of his theological erudition. But neither did Adamnan apostatize, nor did the school of Hy or even of Lindisfarne cease to flourish. To his nonsense about the pretended Culdees of Hy he joins (*p.* 67.) that the Culdees were married, for which he refers to Toland. But Toland was speaking of certain Scotch Culdees, who, he says, were commonly laymen, whereas Ledwich wished to insinuate, that the monks of Hy were married. Another of his attempts to impose on the public is his adducing (*p.* 55.) the authority of Lloyd and Usher as if they had written highly in favour of the Culdees. Now Lloyd, who has much about them, says not a word in praise of them, observing that he could find no mention of Culdees or Kildees until about *A. D.* 900. He laughs at the Scotch stories concerning them, and expressly distinguishes them from the Columbian and other old Irish monks, of whom indeed he speaks rather favourably. Usher mentions Culdees or Colidei several times, but neither praises nor dispraises them; and it never entered into his head to confound them with the Columbians. But in spite of these writers and of Bede, &c. Ledwich transfers to his fictitious Culdees whatever they had said in praise of Columbkille and his monks. He then has recourse to Sir Robert Sibbald and Sir James Dalrymple, and so well he might; for, as Chalmers observes (*Caledonia*, *Vol.* 1. *p.* 439.), "system has concurred with ignorance in supposing, that the Culdees actually possessed rights and exercised powers, which were inconsistent with the established laws of the universal church in that age;" and, as he adds, "Sir James Dalrymple's collections are filled with the prejudices of his age and country." Ledwich complains that Mosheim and others have not recorded the merits of the Culdees as champions of Evangelical truth; but what were the merits of the real Culdees? Was it that in late times some of the Scotch ones were married, one of Ledwich's great proofs and tokens of sanctity? After all, even with regard to those, whom he falsely calls Culdees, Ledwich could not with all his lies and quibbles discover any particular system of doctrine held by them, different from that of the whole

Church of those times ; and all his bustle and smoke terminate in the mighty points of the Paschal computation and the tonsure.

§. II. The real name of the members of the community or communities, of which we are now treating, was not *Culdees*, *Culdei*, nor *Colidei*, but, as far as I can discover, *Ceile-De*, or probably rather *Ceile-Dae*. (12) But then a question occurs concerning the primitive meaning of this compound title. Several writers think, that it signifies *servants of God* ; (13) and in fact the terms agree very well with this explanation, and we find that some holy men, who however did not belong to this community, were, on account of their sanctity, called *Ceile* or *Kele-De* (servant of God), such as, for instance, the celebrated Aengus Keledeus. (14) Yet, although individuals might very properly have been styled *servants of God*, or *Ceile-De* in that acceptance, it is difficult to think, that an entire order of men, consisting of various communities, could have assumed such a proud denomination, or have been greeted with it. Accordingly it appears to me, that the original name was *Ceile-Dae*, that is, a man living in community ; for *Ceile* in Irish signifies *together*, and *Dae* a *man*. (15) As the persons belonging to this order were not, strictly speaking, monks, (16) nor at the same time members of the parochial clergy, this new appellation was made out for the purpose of distinguishing them, even by an Irish or Gaelic name, from other ecclesiastical bodies. Looking to the origin of this institution, they were in reality no others than the description of clergymen called *Secular Canons* who were originally attached to the cathedrals of dioceses. Although bound by rules peculiar to themselves, they belonged to the secular clergy, and partly on this account, and partly to distinguish them from the *Canons Regular* who sprang up at a much later period, they have been and are still designated by the title of *Secular*

Canons. A great body of rules was drawn up for these Canons by the council of Aix-la-Chapelle in the year 816, not very long after their institution began to be introduced into various churches. Thenceforth they formed the Chapters of dioceses, and gradually obtained many privileges and exemptions. They lived together in cloisters or chapter-houses, and had dormitories, refectories, &c. in the same manner as the monastic institutions. I need not give an account of their particular superiors and officers, as their whole system is so generally known, and still exists in the greatest part of Christendom, except that in very many places they have ceased to live in communities; and I shall only add that, besides the Cathedral Chapters, there has been formed a great number of collegiate ones consisting of Canons attached to the service of minor churches, and which are kept up to this very day. (17)

(12) The name *Colidei* is used by Giraldus Cambrensis, as latinized from the Irish, whereas he thought that their original appellation signified *worshippers of God*. I find it used also by Colgan, Usher, and others. *Culdei* is evidently a corruption of *Colidei*, which had Nicholson adverted to, he would not given us (*Pref. to Ir. Histor. Libr. loc. cit.*) an awkward derivation of *Culdee* as if it signified a *black hood or coul*, or a *black monk*. For neither the real so called Culdees, nor the Columbians, whom Nicholson confounded with them, were black monks. Prior to the times of Giraldus the name was written in Latin *Keledei*.

(13) Among others O'Brien, *Irish Dictionary* at *Ceile-De*. Toland interprets it *separated or espoused to God*. O'Brien's explanation is more natural.

(14) See *Not.* 96. to *Chap.* xx. Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 478.) mentions also a St. Comgan, whose memory was revered on the 2d. of August, and who was surnamed *Kele-De*, that is, says Colgan, *Deicola*, by which he explains (*AA. SS.* p. 580.) likewise the surname *Kele-De* given to Aengus. But he did not consider either of these saints as a member of the community

usually called *Culdees*, to whom in the very little he says of them he gives the name of *Colidei*.

(15) See Lhuyd's Irish-English Dictionary at *Ceile* and *Dae*. It agrees with the *Conventuales ap. Ducange*. A new etymology was attempted by Lloyd, (*On Church government, ch. 7.*) who thought, that the name ought to be written *Kyldee*, and then concludes, that it means a *house of cells*, in the same manner as in Welsh *mynachdee* is a monastery. But could he have found, that in the Irish language *Dee* is used for a house? Besides, the name originally began with *Ceile*, a name quite different from *cill* or *cille* a cell. Next, the whole name was applied not to houses but to men, whereas *Ceile-De* or *Ceile-Dae* is constantly understood of the persons called in Latin *Keledei* and corruptly *Colidei* or *Culdei*.

(16) It is true, that Giraldus, speaking (*Itiner. Cambriae, L. 2. c. 6.*) of those of the Island of Berdesey off the Welsh coast, calls them *monachi religiosissimi*; but he says this in a loose manner, and afterwards explains himself by observing, that they were called *Caelibes* or *Colidei*. This particular community of them appears to have consisted not only of clergymen but likewise of pious unmarried laymen, as also probably that of the *Island of the living* near Roscrea. (See *Chap. xxx. §§. 15.*)

(17) I should not have given this little sketch of the particular system of the Secular Canons, were it not for the purpose of enabling the reader to compare it with that of the so called *Culdees*. He will find much more on the subject in every even elementary treatise of Canon law, *ex. c. Fleury's Institution, &c. part 1. ch. 17.*

§. III. The first mention I have met with in Irish history of the particular institution or body of ecclesiastics, called *Culdees*, (which name, as being now generally adopted, I shall use) is in the account of a pillaging of Armagh in the year 921 by Godfrid, king of the Danes of Dublin, who is said to have spared the churches and the *Colidei*. (18) The Secular Canons had been generally established since the ninth century; and that the *Culdees* of Armagh

were a branch of their institution is sufficiently clear from the description given of the Culdees, who were still there until the 17th century. They officiated as secular clergymen in the cathedral, sang in the choir, lived in community, had a superior called *prior* of the Culdees, who acted as *praecentor*, or chief chanter, and who was elected by themselves, but confirmed by the Archbishop. (19) Surely this was in substance the exact system of the Secular Canons, except that our Culdees seem not to have acquired as many privileges or as much power as the Canons of the continent gradually did. There was a prior and college, or collegiate house, of Culdees also at Clones. (20) We find likewise in the island of Devenish (county of Fermanagh) a house of the same institution, which seems to have been founded in 1130, and was considered a community of secular priests. (21) There is a sentence of John Mey, archbishop of Armagh, passed in 1445, declaring that the office of a Culdee, Prior or not, should be looked upon as not implying care of souls, and that accordingly it does not prevent his holding along with it a benefice, to which such care is annexed, provided he continue to reside in the church of Armagh; and there is a brief of Pope Nicholas V. *A. D.* 1447, much to the same purpose in favour of the Prior of the college of secular priests called *Colidei* or Culdees of Armagh. (22) Yet, although the Irish Culdees were generally considered as clergymen, yet the name seems to have been sometimes given to communities comprizing also some pious unmarried laymen, inasmuch as they lived together; and such appear to have been those mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis. (23) For as to married Culdees there is not the least vestige of any such ever having been in Ireland.

(18) See *Chap.* xxii. §. 9. I wish Colgan had given us the Irish word, which he latinized by *Colidei*.

(19) Usher, *Prim. p.* 637. where he observes, that there were Colidei or Culdees in the principal churches of Ulster, and that they continued at Armagh and elsewhere until within his own memory. Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 17. and Harris, (*Antiq. cap.* 35.) who remarks, that those of Armagh were a corporate body and possessed of a considerable landed property.

(20) *Ib. Ib. Ib.*

(21) Ware, who mentions (*ib.*) the Culdees of Devenish, speaks of them also *cap.* 26 at *Fermanagh*, and calls them *secular priests*. I have already observed, that collegiate houses of Secular canons were annexed to minor churches, and, I may here add, often in small towns or places, as may be seen particularly in Italy.

(22) See Usher, *loc. cit.* In the decree of John Mey it is ordered, that the Prior of the Culdees is to have the precedency at table, *i. e.* in the refectory, and in executing and regulating the divine offices, as being *praeceptor*, and that due reverence be paid to him by the other Culdees.

(23) See above *Not.* 16.

§. iv. There were Culdees also at York, who in the account given of their hospital of St. Leonard of that city (24) are called *Colidei* and clergymen of St. Peter's the cathedral. Whether that name was derived to them from Ireland or Scotland I am not able to tell, and it is immaterial to inquire. We find them there in the reign of Athelstan, king of England, who made them some grants in 936; and they continued at York for a long time after down to, at least, the times of Pope Adrian IV., who confirmed their possessions. But it is in the history of Scotland that the name *Culdees* most frequently occurs; for they had more establishments in that country than in Ireland, whereas the Irish, for the greatest part, adhered to their old system of having their cathedrals served by communities of monks in preference to the new ones of Secular Canons or Culdees. It is not my business to enter into a de-

tailed account of the Culdees of Scotland ; yet I may be allowed to touch on some points relative to them, merely to show how much their whole history has been misunderstood. And first this much is certain, that there is no mention of them in true Scottish history until after the year 800, (25) nor, I believe, for many years later, and that the name *Culdees* or *Keledei* first appeared at St. Andrews. (26) It is said, that Constantine the third, king of Scotland, who died in 943, spent the last five years of his life among the Culdees of that city. (27) Such Scotch Culdees, as were seated in episcopal sees, acquired the privilege of electing the bishop out of their own body, and seem to have held it for a considerable time. (28) This was precisely conformable to what the Secular Canons gradually attained in other countries, but which I do not find that the Irish Culdees ever enjoyed. It seems, that the see and Culdees of St. Andrews claimed, about the beginning of the 12th century, a preeminence over those of all Scotland ; for it is recorded, that while Turgot, who had been prior of Durham, was bishop of St. Andrews, *the whole right of the Culdees throughout the entire kingdom of Scotland passed to the bishoprick of St. Andrews.* (29) The obvious meaning of these words is, that, as the see of St. Andrews was then considered as the metropolitical one of Scotland, its bishop and chapter, or Culdees, insisted upon a precedence over those of all the kingdom, and that no bishop should be installed in that country without their consent. In an old document, written by a Culdee of St. Andrews, we read, that *in said city, where is the apostolic see (of St. Andrew), the archbishop of all Scotland ought to be ; and that without the counsel of the elders of that place no bishop ought to be ordained in Scotland.* (30)

(24) *Ap. Dugdale. Monast. Angl. Vol. 2. p. 367.* The hospi-

tal had been first called that of St. Peter; and the Colidei placed one of their own body over it.

(25) See Chalmers, *Caledonia*, Vol. 1. p. 434. This writer, who has treated of the Culdees much more fairly and rationally than many others, yet speaks of them as if they had been a sort of monks, who performed the functions of secular priests, and elsewhere represents them as derived from the old Irish monks, who formed the Cathedral chapters. It would have been more correct to say, that they were secular clergymen, who in some places were substituted to the monks. There is a story in a *MS.* account of the bishops of Dunkeld by Alexander Myln, and quoted by Sir James Dalrymple, Toland, and Jamieson (*Historical, &c.* p. 136.) of Culdees having been placed in Dunkeld about *A. D.* 729 by a king of the Picts at the instance of St. Adamnan. How could this have been, whereas Adamnan died in 704? Add, that Chalmers, who has deeply examined every document relative to the Scotch Culdees, maintains that they were not heard of until after 800. Others say, that there were no Culdees at Dunkeld until 815. (Jamieson, *ib.*) All mere guess-work.

(26) Chalmers, *ib.* This brings us down to, at least, the middle of the ninth century, whereas there were no Culdees at St. Andrews until it became an episcopal see, and it is acknowledged that it did not become such until after Kenneth, king of the British Scots, conquered the Picts in 843, and added their country to his kingdom. Chalmers says, (*ib.* p. 429.) that there is reason to believe, that the see of St. Andrew was founded during the rule of Grig, who ceased to reign in 893.

(27) Buchanan, *rex* 76. See also Usher, *Pr.* p. 659.

(28) Jamieson, quotes (p. 100, 101.) a passage from Martine, *Reliquiae*, in which we read; "Culdei episcopum e suo corpore eligendi potestatem in Scotia semper habebant, donec translatum fuit ab iis jus illud ad clerum, quod primum in electione Sancti Andreani episcopi Willielmi Wisharti abrogatum fuit anno 1271, aut eo circa." And Chalmers observes, (*Caledonia*, Vol. 1. p. 436.) that before the introduction of the Canons Regular at St. Andrews in 1140 the Culdees alone acted as Dean and Chapter in the election of the bishops, and that thenceforth both parties were joined in that right until 1272, when it was usurped by the Canons Re-

gular. He says also, that the culdees of Brechin continued for many ages to act as the Dean and Chapter of that diocese.

(29) The passage, as quoted by Usher (*p.* 1032.) from a chronicle of Durham, is as follows: "Anno ab Incornatione Domini MCVIII. tempore regis Malcolmi et sanctae Margaretæ electus fuit Turgotus prior Dunelmensis in episcopum Sancti Andree, consecratusque est Eboraci 3 Kalend. Augusti, et stetit (sedit) per annos septem. *In diebus illis totum jus Keledeorum per totum regnum Scotiae transiit in episcopatum Sancti Andree.*" The latter part of this passage is quoted also by Selden. (See above *Not.* 5.)

(30) This document, otherwise fabulous enough, has been published by Usher, (*p.* 648. *seqq.*) and in it we find (*p.* 651.) the following passage: *Ex hac itaque civitate archiepiscopatus esse debet totius Scotiae, ubi apostolica sedes est; nec absque consilio seniorum istius loci ullus episcopus in Scotia debet ordinari."*

§. v. There were several Culdee houses in Scotland besides those annexed to episcopal sees. (31) The Culdees, whatsoever place they belonged to, are in Scotch charters and documents often called Canons; (32) are spoken of as acting in that capacity; had priors; were required to live in community, and to observe *canonical* discipline according to the institution of their rule. (33) In fact, those of Scotland were to all intents and purposes Secular Canons, and continued to enjoy the privileges annexed to that description of clergymen, until they began to be disturbed in the early part of the 12th century by the Canons Regular of St. Augustin, in the same manner as the Secular Canons were at that period, and prior to it, in other countries, where they were ousted out of many cathedrals, &c. and Canons Regular substituted in their stead. Indeed a great part of them, both in Scotland and elsewhere, deserved to be set aside; for they violated some of the chief rules of their institution by ceasing to live in community, and taking to themselves

wives or concubines. (34) For these reasons many of the Scotch Culdees laid themselves open to proceedings against them during the reign of Alexander I., who brought Canons Regular from England and established them in several places in lieu of the Culdees. Thus he dismissed in the year 1115 the Culdees of Scone, and entrusted the church of that place to Canons Regular. (35) David I. his successor, although favourable to Canons Regular, yet treated the Culdees with mildness, and did not eject them, wherever they submitted to the reformation, which he introduced. (36) When he procured the establishment of a regular episcopal see at Dunkeld, he allowed the Culdees to continue to act as Dean and Chapter. (37) Several Culdee houses, in which the primitive rules were observed, remained in Scotland until much later times. Of their system I find a remarkable instance in the case of the Culdees of Monymusk, who had been placed under the bishop of St. Andrews by the same king David I. Disputes having arisen in course of time between them and the bishop, the matter was referred to Pope Innocent III., whose referees decided in the year 1212, that “the number of the Culdees of Monymusk should be fixed at twelve with a prior. They were to have one refectory, one dormitory, with a cemetery in the church of Monymusk. Their elections were to be made by choosing three of their own number, out of whom the bishop was to elect a superior. The Culdees were not to become Canons Regular without the consent of the bishop. They were restricted as to the holding or acquiring of lands. And the bishop promised for himself, and for his successors, that the Culdees should in future enjoy the privileges, which had been thus settled by the Pope’s referees.” (38)

(31) Chalmers mentions several of them *ib.* p. 438.

(32) Thus in a charter (*ap.* Jamieson, *App.* No. 12.) *Canonicis*,

qui Keledei dicuntur. Elsewhere we find *Keledei*, *qui se canonicos gerunt.* In a deed (*ib.* No. 11.) Keledeis sive *Canonicis* (of Monymusk). Frequently called *Canonici* without the addition of *Keledei.* (See *ib.* Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.)

(33) Amidst all Jamieson's shufflings these points are quite clear from what he has himself *p.* 270. *seqq.* He throws out (*p.* 272.) some doubts about the propriety of calling secular clergy *Canons*, and refers to Ducange as if he made mention only of *Canons Regular.* But Ducange treats of both the Secular and Regular *Canons*; nor is there any one at all versed in ecclesiastical history or Canon law, that has not read and heard of Secular *Canons*, who were and are so called on account of their being secular clergymen subject to particular rules. But objections have been made also to the propriety of the title *Canons Regular*, *Canonici Regulares*, because it implies a tautology, as if we should say *Regular Regulars.*

(34) See Fleury, *Instit. au Droit*, &c. part 1. *ch.* 22.

(35) Chalmers, *Caledonia*, Vol. 1. *p.* 438, 439.

(36) See *ib.* *p.* 437, 438, for the Culdees of St. Servan, Portmoak, and Dunfermlin.

(37) *Ib.* *p.* 435. It is false, says Chalmers, that David expelled the Culdees from Dunkeld. This had been said by Alexander Myln, (of whom above *Not.* 25.) who talks of married Culdees of Dunkeld, and then tells us how David turned them out, and changed their monastery into a cathedral church, in which he placed a Bishop and *Canons* forming a secular college. Toland seized upon this, as if it proved that the Culdees were not *Canons.* But the fact is, that those very *Canons*, placed in the Cathedral, were Culdees; and, if any of them had wives before, they ceased to have them after the regulation made by David. The fictitious Culdees of old times were running in Myln's head; and his statement proves the very reverse of Toland's conclusion, whereas the Chapter of Dunkeld continued to consist of Culdees.

(38) *Ib.* *p.* 438. Yet, says Chalmers, did the bishop of St. Andrews, in opposition to a solemn promise, suppress those Culdees, and place *Canons regular* in their room. The original of this decision may be seen in Jamieson's *Appendix* No. 19. On the substance of the whole transaction he has in the body of the

work some quibbling unworthy of a man of learning and candour. Thus he says (*p.* 260.) that a complaint was made against the Culdees of Monymusk for their acting as Canons. This was not the case; for the complaint was, that said Culdees, *who* acted as Canons, and some others of the diocese of Aberdeen were endeavouring to establish at Monymusk, which belonged to the see of St Andrew, a house of *Canons Regular*, in opposition to the bishop, and to the prejudice of his church; “*Kildei quidam, qui se “ canonicos gerunt, et quidam alii Aberdonensis diocesis, infra “ villam de Monismuske pertinentem ad ipsum (episcopum), “ quamdam Canoniam Regularem eodem renitente contra justitiam construere non formidant in Ecclesiae suae prejudicium et “ gravamen.*” Jamieson shamefully confines the charge of erecting the *Regular canonry* to the persons of the diocese of Aberdeen. Fie! Why overlook *qui* in the text, *qui se canonicos gerunt*! Then he has (*p.* 261) some stuff about the ideas of the Culdees not conforming to the Papal ideas of a Canonry; and he tells us, (*p.* 262) that they were “non descripts, because not allowed to be called either monks or canons.” This is really intolerable. There was no prohibition against their being called *Canons*, that is, *Secular Canons*; and in fact they were frequently called so, as in a deed of Duncan, earl of Mar (*App. No.* 11.), “*Keledeis sive Canonicis ibidem (Monymusk) servientibus;*” in the confirmation of the same by John, bishop of Aberdeen, (*ib. No.* 12.) “*Canonicis, qui Keledei dicuntur;*” and in that by the king Alexander (*ib. No.* 13.) simply “*Canonicis de Monimusc.*” Many more instances might be added from that Appendix, if necessary. But the bishop of St. Andrews did not, for some reasons of his own, like that those Culdees or Canons of Monymusk should become *Canons Regular*. Did Mr. Jamieson not understand the terms of the documents, which he has published? Or is he so ignorant as not to know, that besides the *Canons Regular* there were long before them, and are still, people called *Secular Canons*? His shufflings and tervigersations are all directed to keep up the fable of the anti-Romanism of the Culdees, on which point he has deeply imbibed the spirit of Ledwich.

§. 6. This sentence was on the whole very favourable to the Culdees, and it proves, that neither In-

nocent III. nor his referees considered them as persons in a state of hostility or opposition to Rome. And in fact, whatever some ignorant and violent bigots may have thrown out, they were never in the times of their existence, whether in Scotland or elsewhere, supposed to be in such state. We have seen, that David I. a king much attached to Rome, was kind to them; and Edelred, a brother of his, abbot of Dunkeld and earl of Fife, made a grant of Ardmore to God and St. Servan and to the Culdees of Lochleven. (39) Prior to the reign of David, king Malcolm and his queen St. Margaret, who were not anti-Romanists, granted to the same Culdees a place called Ballecristin; and more than one bishop of St. Andrews, earlier than Turgot, made over to them churches, &c. as being holy men, and for obtaining the suffrages of their prayers (40) Accordingly they were neither anti-episcopalians, nor in opposition to Rome. A Culdee was made bishop of St. Andrews in 1272; for they continued there until that time and later, notwithstanding the efforts of the Canons Regular to turn them out and get exclusive possession of their places, in which they did not fully succeed until 1297. (41) In progress of time, as had happened in many other countries, the partiality for the system of the Canons Regular prevailed to such a degree, that the Culdees or Secular Canons lost many of their establishments in Scotland, which were granted to these new comers. The *Religio*, or religious order, was considered preferable to the Culdee institution, and from the first introduction of Canons Regular Alexander I. made grants to the church of St. Andrew for the purpose of establishing there some of them for the service of God. (42) I shall conclude this account of the Culdees with one or two observations on the unfounded assertion of some writers, that it was a general rule with them to denominate all their churches from the Holy Trinity. (43) In the first place this

is not true. The principal Culdee house of Scotland was that of St. Andrew's, and the Culdees had a church there called *of St. Mary*. (44) The church of these of Monymusk was also the name of St. Mary. (45) The Culdees of Lochleven had their church under that of St. Servan. (46) The Culdees of York belonged, as we have seen, to the church of St. Peter, and their hospital got the name of St. Leonard. (47) It is laughable to reflect, how the allegers of the anti-Romanism of the Culdees, in making that assertion as a proof of it, turn out to be disappointed, and how their argument operates against themselves. For the fact is, that the persons, with whom the system attributed to the Culdees prevailed, were downright Romanists. They were the Trinitarians, a branch of Canons Regular of St. Augustin, in whose Rule, approved of by Pope Innocent III., it is enjoined, that "*all the churches of said Order should be entitled in the name of the Holy Trinity*." (48) As early as the 13th century, not long after the founding of this order, many Trinitarian houses were established in Scotland, and in some places these Canons Regular were substituted to the Culdees. (49) Hence it came to pass, that there were in that country so many churches called *of the Holy Trinity*. There might have been some there, as was the case in all Christian countries, bearing that title and even belonging to Culdees, before the introduction of the Trinitarians; but the truth is, that the system of giving exclusively that denomination to churches was observed by this Order alone.

(39) Jamieson's *Appendix*, No. 5.

(40) *Ib.* In the grant of the church of Sconyn by Tuadal, one of those bishops, the Culdees of Lochleven are mentioned as *viri religiosi*, to whom it was made *pro suffragiis orationum*. In that of the bishop Modach to God and St. Servan and said Culdees, they are marked as "*in scola virtutum ibidem degentibus*."

Jamieson has some silly exceptions scarcely worth noticing, for instance, that little regard was paid to saints in Scotland till the beginning of the 12th century. How then account for the legend (*ap. Usher, Pr. p. 648, seqq.*) concerning the reliques, veneration &c. of St. Andrew, whence the city of St. Andrews got its name long before that century?

(41) There was a decree as far back as the pontificate of Adrian IV. by which this Pope ordered that, according as the Culdees of St. Andrews died, Canons Regular should be placed in their situations. (Jamieson. *p. 281.*) These Canons having usurped the privilege of electing the bishop, the Culdees at length appealed in 1297 to Pope Boniface VIII. in support of their former rights, but lost their plea *non utendo jure suo*, because they had suffered two former elections to proceed without their interference. (*Ib. p. 289.*) This appeal shows, that the Culdees were not anti-Romanists. They used to be attacked and abused by the Canons Regular, as may be seen in *No. 7.* of Jamieson's *Appendix*, where after an account of the reliques of St Andrew, &c it is said, that after the death of the holy men, who had brought said reliques, and of their disciples, religious worship was lost, the nation being barbarous and uncultivated. Yet, it adds, there were in St. Andrew's church, such as it then was, thirteen persons *per successionem carnalem*, who were called *Kelledei*, that is, not thirteen married successions of Culdees, as Toland explains these words, but thirteen Culdees who got their places by inheritance from their relatives. Whether the author meant inheritance from their fathers or from uncles, cousins, &c. cannot be determined. Then he states, that they lived more according to the traditions of men than the rules of the holy fathers, and that they still lived so. He says, that they used to celebrate their offices, and that, after they became Culdees, they were not allowed to have their wives in their houses, nor even any other women. This sort of an account of the old Culdees of St. Andrews was evidently drawn up by some English Canon Regular of that city, who strove to misrepresent them as far as he could. That the Culdees celebrated Mass and the Church offices like all other Secular Canons is beyond question; and in the catalogue of their library of

Lochleven (*Ib.* No. 6.) we find the *Pastorale*, *Missale*, *Graduale*, and *Lectionarium*.

(42) “*Ecclesiam B. Andreae apostoli possessionibus et reditibus ampliavit—eo nimirum obtentu et conditione ut in ipsa ecclesia constitureretur Religio ad Deo deservendum.*” (*Ap.* Jamieson, p. 215.) These grants were not made to the Culdees in particular, as he seems to suppose, but to the church in general, that it might be enabled to support the *Religio* or religious community of Canons Regular. For this is the true meaning, although not understood by Jamieson, of *Religio* in that passage. His translation of the words marked in Italics is very strange; “that in the church itself a proper form of divine service should be constituted or set up.” What necessity would there have been for augmenting the revenues of the church if there were question only of introducing a proper form of divine service? For there were clergymen there already, *viz.* the Culdees; and if their form was incorrect, it might have been altered without any expense; or who, that understands Latin, could translate these words in the manner that he has done? But he seems to have wished to insinuate, that the Culdees had some form of worship peculiar to themselves, and which the king meant to set aside. For I cannot believe, that he was unacquainted with the sense, in which *Religio* so often occurs in his documents, that is, as meaning a religious order. And I find that referring (*p.* 216.) to Wyntown’s Cronykil, who, he says, speaks as if there had been no religion at St. Andrew’s before Alexander’s time, he confesses, that Wyntown seems to understand by *Relygyowne* a religious order. And so he certainly did. This acceptance of *Religio* for religious order, monastic life or institution, was quite common in the middle ages, and there is an instance of it even in Salvian, who lived in the 5th century. The abbot Suger says “(*Ep.* 163); *Hæc duo potissimum amplexatus sum, videlicet de statuenda Religione in B. Genovefæ Parisiensis et nobili Compendiensi ecclesia.*” This is exactly like the *in ipsa ecclesia constitureretur Religio* quoted by Jamieson. It occurs in this sense in the legends of founders of religious orders, as, *ex. c.* *Bruno Carthusianæ Religionis institutor*; and Jamieson knew that there is a work of Augustinus Ticinensis referred to by Usher, (*Pr.* p. 659.) entitled *Christi-*

anarum religionum (sive, adds Usher, *ordinum religiosorum*) *Elucidarium*. Hence in Italian a religious order is usually called *Religione*; thus they say, *la Religione Domenicana*, &c. and *Religion*, has the same meaning in French, as in the phrase *habit de Religion*, from the Latin *habitus Religionis*, the religious habit or dress. Now it is a shame for Jamieson to have endeavoured to twist the word *Religio* from this acceptation in passages, where it could have no other. This he has done not only at p. 215, but likewise p. 251, 374, &c. And for what? To make his readers believe, that the Culdees professed a particular sort of religion, or summary of doctrine, different from a new one, which was introduced instead of it. This is a base trick unbecoming a writer of any sort of history. There was no question of religion, understood in a doctrinal sense, between the Culdees and others; whereas the whole business came merely to this point, that the *Religio* or religious order of the Canons Regular was established in various parts of Scotland, and that, being much favoured, they exerted themselves to obtain the situations and advantages, which had belonged to the Culdees or Secular Canons. In a similar strain Jamieson was not ashamed to copy (p. 358.) Ledwich's ridiculous and ignorant explanation of the "*antiquae religionis*" of Giraldus Cambrensis. (See *Not.* 118. to *Chap.* xxx.)

(43) Ledwich (*Agtiq.* &c. p. 414.) says, from Dalrymple, with triumph; "The Culdees never placed their churches under the invocation of the Virgin Mary, or any saint, but of the Holy Trinity." Jamieson has the same thing (*Historical*, &c. p. 207); and I am surprized that even Chalmers fell into this mistake, *Caledonia*, Vol. 1. p. 438.

(44) Jamieson, p. 282, *seqq.*

(45) Idem, *Appendix*, No. 11.

(46) Chalmers, *Caledonia*, Vol. 1. p. 436.

(47) See above §. 4. and *Not.* 24.

(48) The Trinitarian Rule may be seen in the *Monast. Angl.* Vol. 2. p. 380. *seqq.* One of its regulations is that now mentioned: "*Omnes ecclesiae istius Ordinis intitulentur nomine sanctae Trinitatis.*"

(49) Chalmers enumerates (*Caledonia*, Vol. 1.) several establishments of the Trinitarians, whom he calls *Red Friars*,

that is, Friars of the Redemption of captives. He mentions (*ib.* p. 691) such Trinitarian foundations at Failefurd, Peebles, and Dornoch; (*p.* 686.) those of Dunbar, Houston, and Scotland-well; and (*p.* 683) one in Aberdeen.

§ VII. To the year 1187 is assigned the death of a bishop of Ardagh, named O'Tirlenan, and successor of Christian O'Heotai, who died in 1179. (50) In these times, the bishop of Emly was Isaac O'Hamery, the successor of Charles O'Buacalla, and the bishop of Ross was one Benedict; (51) but the precise times of their deaths are not known. In 1188 died a bishop of Inniscathy, Aidus O'Beachain (52) In or about this year Alured le Palmer, a Dane, founded an hospital near Dublin to the west, where Thomas-street is now situated, and was himself the first prior of it. It was called the priory of St. John Baptist, and fell under the direction of the Cruciferi, a branch of the Canons Regular of St. Augustin. (53) At said year is mentioned a Cistercian establishment of Feal or Ne-feal on the borders of Limerick and Kerry, as a cell to the monastery of Nenay. (54) Martin O'Brolaigh, a professor of Armagh, who is called the most learned of the Irish, died in this year, (55) as did also a holy man, named Amlave O'Doigre, in the island of Hy, whither he had gone on a pilgrimage. (56) In said year John de Courcey, returning from an expedition in Connaught, was met by Conor Maenmoigi, the eldest son of Roderic O'Conor, and Donald O'Brian, king of North Munster, who attacked and defeated him with considerable loss; and the worthy Donald O'Loughlin, king of Tirone, was killed, fighting in battle at a place called *Cavanne-cran*, although he had gained a victory. He was honourably buried at Armagh. (57) The following year, 1189, is memorable for the death, on the 6th of July, of Henry II. who was succeeded by his son Richard I. surnamed *Coeur de lion*. He was

crowned in the church of Westminster on the 3d of September following, and, besides several other bishops, the coronation was attended by John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin, Albin O'Mulloy, bishop of Ferns, and Concors, bishop of Enaghdone. (58) Richard having not long after gone to the Holy Land, such parts of Ireland, as were possessed by the English, remained under the dominion of his brother John, who was styled Lord of Ireland. In this year Conor Maenmoigi was killed by his own people, in consequence of which Roderic O'Conor again took possession of his kingdom. John de Courcey during an expedition of his through some parts of Ulster plundered Armagh; and in said year Murchard O'Carrol, king of Ergal, died in the abbey of Mellifont, where he was buried near the founder, Donogh O'Carrol; (59) and O'Hislenan, bishop of Ardagh, was killed, but by whom I do not find mentioned. (60)

(50) Ware, *Bishops at Ardagh*.

(51) See *ib.* at Emly and Ross.

(52) *AA. SS. p.* 542. and Harris, *Bishop at Limerick*.

(53) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 26 at *Dublin*, and *Annals at A.* 1188.

(54) Harris, *Monast. at Cistercians*. See also Ware, *Antiq. ib.* at Limerick.

(55) *Tr. Th. p.* 310. and Ware, *Annals, loc. cit.*

(56) *Tr. Th. p.* 501: (57) Ware, *Annals at A.* 1188.

(58) Ware, *ib.* at 1189. In all probability this Concors was the same as the Concors who was abbot of St. Brendan's of Clonfert in the year 1175, and who was one of the Ambassadors of Roderic O'Connor to Henry II. (See Chap. xxix. §. 9.)

(59) Ware, *ib.* (60) See Ware, *Bishops at Ardagh*.

§. VIII. In or about 1190 John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin, having demolished an old parochial church in the South suburbs of the city, erected in its stead the church of St. Patrick, which he raised to the rank of a collegiate church, endowing

it and placing therein thirteen Canons or Prebendaries. (61) It was not until after his death that it became a cathedral, during the incumbency of his successor, Henry de Loundres. About the same time, as is said, he built and endowed the nunnery of Grace-Dieu, three miles north of Swords in the county of Dublin, for Regular canonesses of the order of St. Augustin, having removed thither the old nunnery of Lusk. (62) In the same year 1190, or, as some say, the preceding one, Cathal O'Connor, surnamed *Crobhdearg*, founded the Cistercian abbey of Knockmoy in the now county of Galway, six miles south-east of Tuam, in memory of a victory, which he had obtained there, and hence it was called *De colle victoriae*. (63) Gilla-Criost, or Christian, O'Macturan, bishop of Clogher, died in 1191, and was succeeded by Maeliosa, the son of Mac-Mael-Ciaran, and abbot of Mellifont. (64) In the same year died Murchertach or Maurice, archbishop of Cashel. (65) His successor was Matthew O'Heney, or O'Enny, a Cistercian monk, and a very wise and holy man. About this time, and most probably in 1192, died a bishop of Cloyne, named Matthew, who governed that see as far back as the year 1171, when Henry II. arrived in Ireland. (66) He was succeeded by Laurence O'Sullivan, who held the see until 1204 or 1205. Matthew O'Heney was appointed apostolic legate in 1192, and in said year convened a great synod in Dublin, which was well attended. (67) It is said, that in this synod he confirmed to John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin, and his successors, all the donations, which John, Lord of Ireland, had made to his church, and the annexation of the see of Glendaloch. For it is stated, that John had in the year 1185 granted to John Cumin such annexation, when that see should become vacant. (68) Be this as it may, the union of Glendaloch with Dublin did not take place in 1192, nor, at the earliest, until about 1214 after

the death of William Piro, or Peryn, bishop of Glendaloch. (69) And even from that period until 1497 it was little more than nominal ; for the Irish septs of that territory would not submit to the see of Dublin ; and we find a continuation of bishops of Glendaloch, some of whom were appointed by Popes.

(61) Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1190. and *Bishops* at *John Cumin*. See also Harris, *Bishops*, p. 302.

(62) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Dublin* ; Harris, *Monast.* at *Canonesses of the order of St. Augustin* ; and Archdall at *Grace Dieu*.

(63) Ware, *ib.* at *Galway*, and *Annals* at *A.* 1190 ; Harris, *ib.* at *Cistercians*, and Archdall at *Abbey Knockmoy*.

(64) Ware and Harris *Bishops* at *Clogher*. They call Mac-Mael-Ciaran a bishop. If there be not some mistake, it must be supposed, that he embraced the ecclesiastical state after the death of his wife. They have not told us where he was bishop.

(65) Harris, at *Archbishops of Cashel*. There can be no doubt, but that, as Harris observes, Maurice was the same as the bishop Murchertach, whose death is marked at *A.* 1191. in the *Annals of Innisfallen* ; and accordingly Ware was mistaken in confounding him with his successor Matthew O'Heney.

(66) Ware and Harris, *Bishops* at *Cloyne*. Harris remarks, that the *Annals of Innisfallen* assign the death of a bishop O'Mongagh to *A.* 1192. He thinks, and I believe with good reason, that O'Mongagh was the same as Matthew of Cloyne. If so, he must have been the Pope's legate in Ireland, and perhaps the immediate successor, as such, of St. Laurence O'Toole. For the said *Annals* state, that on his death the legatine authority was entrusted to O'Enny, that is, Matthew O'Heney, archbishop of Cashel.

(67) *Annals of Innisfallen* at *A.* 1192. and Harris, *Archbishops of Cashel* at *Matthew O'Heney*. See also Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1192.

(68) Harris, *ib.* and at *Dublin*, *John Cumin*, from the Black book of Dublin. I much doubt the truth of these statements relative to the annexation of the see of Glendaloch. Ware, although

he makes mention (*Annals at A. 1192.*) of the synod held in Dublin by Matthew O'Heney, yet has nothing about that annexation. He quotes indeed (*Bishops at Henry de Londres*) the attestation in favour of the claim of the Archbishops of Dublin to the see of Glendaloch attributed, whether truly or not I shall not inquire, to Felix O'Ruadan, an archbishop of Tuam in the 13th century, in which it is said, that not only John but likewise his father Henry II. annexed Glendaloch to Dublin. Harris has (*p. 377.*) from the *Crede mihi* a passage of a grant ascribed to John, and dated *A. 1192*, by which the archbishop of Dublin should take possession of the bishopric of Glendaloch in case of its becoming vacant, and the bishop of Glendaloch for the future should be *chaplain and vicar to the archbishop of Dublin*. According to this strange sort of a deed there was to be still a bishop of Glendaloch, while the revenues of the see were to belong to the archbishops of Dublin. There is something very suspicious in these Dublin documents; but as a discussion concerning them would be relative to times, of which I do not mean to treat, I shall leave them as they are.

(69) Harris, *Bishops at Glendaloch*, William Piro. See also Ware at *Henry de Londres*.

(70) Ware, *Annals at A. 1497*, and Harris, *loc. cit.*

§. ix. A bishop of Ardfert, named Donald O'Conarchy, who was called bishop of Iar-Muan, or West Munster, died in 1193. (71) He was succeeded by David O'Duibditrib, who lived until 1207. In said year 1193 Africa, daughter of Godred, king Mann, and wife of John de Courcey, founded the Cistercian abbey of Our Lady of Leigh, or *De jugo Dei*, vulgarly called *Gray Abbey*, in the now county of Down and barony of Ardes, in which she was afterwards buried; (72) and Geoffry Fitz-Robert, seneschal of Leinster, founded at Kells, in the now county of Kilkenny, the priory of the Blessed Virgin Mary for Canons Regular of St. Augustin, four of whom he procured from the priory of Bodmin in Cornwall. This establishment was confirmed by Felix O'Dullany, bishop of Ossory. To this priory

that of Tullales or Tullelash, in the county of Cork, and barony of Duhallow, founded by Matthew, son of Griffin, was afterwards annexed. (73) To this year some assign the death in, that is near, the abbey of Mellifont, of Dervorgill, the wife of Tiernan O'Ruarc, who had been long before carried away by Dermod Mac Murrough; and about the same time Gilbert de Nangle, an English or Norman adventurer, plundered the island of Inis-clothran in Lough-ree, where there was an ancient and celebrated monastery. (74) In or about 1194 died Eugene, bishop of Clonard, who a little before his death assumed the title of *bishop of Meath*, which his successors have since used. (75) Yet we have seen that a bishop Idunan called himself by that title as far back as the year 1096. (76) In the confirmation of two donations made to the monastery of St. Thomas near Dublin by Hugh de Lacy in 1183, Eugene styles himself bishop of Clonard. (77) Hence, and from the circumstance of Ethru O'Miadachain having been called bishop of Clonard, (78) it appears that the title, *bishop of Meath*, was not assumed after Idunan's time, until it was adopted by Eugene. This bishop is said to have appropriated the church of Skrine in Meath to the Cistercian abbey of St. Mary near Dublin. (79) He was succeeded by Simon Rochfort, an Englishman, and the first of his nation who presided over that see, and who deserved to govern it, as he was an excellent and attentive prelate. (80) He removed the see from Clonard to Newtown near Trim, where he founded in 1206 a convent of Augustin Canons, and raised its church to the rank of a cathedral under the title of St. Peter and St. Paul. (81) During his incumbency five of the old episcopal churches of the principality of Meath, *viz.* Trim, Kells, Slane, Skrine, and Dunshaughlin, were only heads of rural deaneries, governed by archpriests, in the diocese of Meath. (82) The sees of Duleek, Ardraccan, and

Fore, were also swallowed up in this diocese, but at what precise times I am not able to tell. Thus the diocese of Meath contains a greater number of ancient sees than any other in Ireland, and, since that of Clonmacnois was united to it in later times, has swelled to an extraordinary extent. To the same year 1194 is assigned the foundation, by an O'Dogherty, of a Cistercian house at Hilfothuir, in the now county of Donegal, which was afterwards united to that of Arrhoe, or De Samario. (83)

(71) Ware, *Bishops at Ardfert*.

(72) Ware, *Annals* at A. 1193. and *Antiq. cap.* 26. at Down ; and Archdall at *Gray Abbey*.

(73) Ware, *Antiq. ib.* at *Kilkenny*, and Archdall at *Kells* and *Tulleash*. Harris has (*Monast.*) the foundation of the priory of Kells in about 1183. This is a mistake ; for, as Ware states, it occurred in the reign of Richard I. which began in 1190. (Compare with *Not* 121. to *Chap.* xxx.)

(74) Ware, *Annals* at A. 1193.

(75) Ware, *Bishops at Meath*.

(76) See *Chap.* xxiv. §. 5. and xxv. §. 6.

(77) Harris, *Bishops of Meath* at *Eugene*.

(78) See *Chap.* xxix. §. 6. (79) Harris, *ib.*

(80) Ware, *Bishops at Meath*. He says, that Simon Rochfort was consecrated about 1194 ; but Harris states in his additions, that it will appear from his *Antiquities* probable, that he was advanced to that see a considerable time before said year. If so, Eugene must have died much sooner than is supposed. I do not find in Harris' *Antiquities*, viz. those which he alludes to, any thing relative to these points.

(81) Ware and Harris, *ib.*

(82) This appears from Simon Rochfort's constitutions passed at Newtown in 1216 (*ap.* Wilkins, *Concilia, &c.* Vol. 1. p. 517.) in which, after a preamble stating, that it had been decreed in the council of Kells that, according as the *Chorepiscopi* and bishops of smaller sees should die, archpriests were to be placed in their stead to be appointed by the diocesans, and as presiding over rural deaneries, we read, that the churches of Trim, &c. which had

been bishops' sees, were then merely heads of such deaneries. Ledwich (*Antiq. &c. p. 394. seqq.*) calls Trim *Athunry*, because forsooth the original has *Athrúmia* from the Irish *Ath-Truim*, the ford of 'Truim or Trim. This sapient Doctor has made a pretty hodge podge of the ancient sees of Meath. He found in Harris' *Bishops* (*p. 138.*) that there are twelve rural deaneries in the present diocese of Meath, and thence concluded, that they had all been sees of at least *chorepiscopi*. Some of them indeed had been so, and even of regular bishops; but where did he find a bishop or *chorepiscopus* of Ratoath, Mullingar, Ardnurchor, or Ballyloughort, places now reckoned among these deaneries? Is it because some old sees had been reduced to rural deaneries, that therefore every present deanery must have been a bishop's see? Now, on the contrary, some places, that were really sees, are not counted among these deaneries, such as, *ex. c.* Dunshaughlin and Ardbracon. With equal good logic he has made out twelve or thirteen old sees for the diocese of Dublin (he should have added Glendaloch) as if every one of its now deaneries had been formerly honoured with a bishop or a *chorepiscopus*. Now among the places, which he reckons, there are but four of five at most, in which we find any sort of an episcopal see at any time, such as Lusk, Clondalkin, Tallaght, Swords, and Finglas. But who has ever heard of a bishop of Bray, Wicklow, Arklow, &c. &c.? Besides, Ledwich might have learned from Harris, (*ib. p. 299.*) whom he had before his eyes, that the number of deaneries has been changed in the dioceses of Dublin and Glendaloch. And, if he understood these subjects, or attended to correct reasoning, he would have seen, that the number and state of our ancient sees are not to be judged of from the present division of deaneries. Such an idea never occurred to Harris; but the Doctor did not care what he thrust into his farrago, whether right or wrong, provided he could swell the book. Amidst a heap of stuff it is droll to hear him preferring himself (*p. 402.*) to Ware, Harris, and Usher, who, he says, had not even a tolerable idea of our original episcopacy!

(83) Harris, *Monastic*. and Archdall at *Hilfothuir*. Ware has not this monastery.

§. x. In this year Donald O'Brian, king of North

Munster, granted to Brictius, bishop of Limerick, and his successors, and to the clergy of St. Mary's of Limerick, in free and perpetual alms, the lands of Mungram, or Mungret, and those of Ivamnach. (84) This was the last year of that good and brave prince, and he was succeeded by his son Donough Carbrach O'Brian. (85) Besides other monastic foundations, of which we have seen already, Donald established a house of Canons Regular at Clare, *alias* called *Kilmony*, under the little of St. Peter and St. Paul, in the now county of Clare; (86) and another, styled a priory, for said order, in Inis-negananagh (the island of Canons) in the Shannon, and comprized in the same county, besides a nunnery, under the name of St John the Baptist, for Augustin canonesses at Kil-Oen likewise in said county, and in the barony of Islands. (87) He is also said to have founded in 1194 the Cistercian abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Coreumroe, or *De petra fertili*, in that county, and barony of Burren, which, however, some attribute to his son Donough and mark at A. 1200. (88) In the city of Limerick he had formed, about the time of the arrival of the English, an establishment, under the name of St. Peter, for Black nuns of the order of St Augustin. (89) About the same time he had erected a cathedral in Limerick, which was dedicated under the title of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and which he afterwards richly endowed, although there was one there before, called St. Munchin's. (90) Thus Donald added to his many foundations the erection of two cathedrals, *viz.* this one of Limerick, and that of Cashel. (91) He was also a great benefactor to the see of Killaloe, (92) where it is said that he was buried. His loss was severely felt by his subjects; for soon after his death the English got possession of Limerick and other parts of N. Munster, where they committed great cruelties, particularly on the family of Donald, one of whose sons Mur-

togh, they deprived of his sight by putting out his eyes, and another they massacred after having dragged him out of a sanctuary. But, while thus wreaking their vengeance against the memory of Donald, they were checked and forced to fly by Cathal Crobhdearg O'Connor, prince of Connaught; and Donald Mac-Carthy of Desmond drove them out of Limerick. (93)

(84) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Matthew O'Heney, Cashel*, and at *Briccius, Limerick*. The deed was witnessed by Matthew O'Heney, archbishop, &c. and Ruadri O'Gradei. (See Ware, *Antiq. cap. 29. at Limerick*.)

(85) Ware, *Annals at A. 1194*.

(86) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 26. at Clare*. It is odd, that Donald's charter for this foundation is dated *A. 1195*, (see Archdall at *Clare*) although it is agreed, that he died in 1194. This must have happened in consequence of the witnesses not having assembled to sign it until 1195.

(87) Ware, *ib.* and Archdall at *Inis-negananagh and Kil-Oen*.

(88) Ware, *ib.* Harris, *Monast.* and Archdall at *Corcumroe*.

(89) Ware, *ib.* at *Limerick*.

(90) See Ware, *Antiq. cap. 29. at Limerick*, and Harris, *Bishops*, p. 501.

(91) See *Chap. xxix. §. 5*.

(92) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 29. at Killaloe*, and *Bishops of Killaloe at Constantine O'Brian*.

(93) See Ware, *Annals*, at *A. 1194*, and 1195. Leland, *Hist. of Ireland*, Book 1. ch. 5. and Ferrar, *History of Limerick part 1. ch. 2*.

§. XI. Maeliosa, who had been raised to the see of Clogher in 1191, held it for only about four years; for he died in 1195. He gave up to John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin, and his successors, his claim to the church of All Saints near Dublin, reserving it, however, to himself during his life, to be held of the said archbishop and of the church of the Holy Trinity, or Christ-church. (94) He was succeeded

by Tigernach Mac-Gilla-Rowan, an Augustin Canon. In the same year died Florentine, bishop of Elphin, who was son of one Riagan of the family of Malruanaidh, which was descended from kings of Connaught. (95) He had been a Cistercian monk, and for some time abbot of Boyle. (96) His next successor seems to have been Ardgall O'Connor of the royal house of that name. The death of Nehemias, bishop of Kildare, may be assigned to this year; whereas he was promoted to that see in 1177, and is said to have governed it about eighteen years. (97) Who was his immediate successor I am not able to discover. Constantine O'Brian, bishop of Killaloe, who had assisted at the third council of Lateran, must have died before 1195, for in said year we find Dermot O'Coning bishop there, who was deprived of the see and driven out of it by Matthew O'Heney, archbishop of Cashel, the Pope's legate, for what reason is not recorded. Dermot died of grief in the same year, and was succeeded by Charles O'Heney, (probably the same as Cornelius or Conor O'Heney) in or about whose time the see of Roscrea was united to that of Killaloe, and the see of Iniscathy to that of Limerick, while its possessions were divided between the Sees of Limerick, Killaloe, and Ardfert. (98) The nunnery of Augustin canonesses of St. Brigid's of Odra or Odder in the now county of Meath, and barony of Skrine, had its possessions confirmed in this year by Pope Celestin III. (99) At the same time he confirmed also those of the nunnery of the same order of St. Mary's of Clonard, which had been endowed long before, probably by the O'Melaghlin's; (100) and likewise those of St. Mary's nunnery of the same order at Termon-Fechin in the now county of Louth. (101) To said year is assigned the death of one Donald O'Find, who is called *comorba of Clonsfert-Brenain* or *Brendan*;

but it is uncertain, whether he was bishop or only abbot of Clonfert. (102)

(94) Ware, *Bishops at Clogher*. It appears, that said church and the priory annexed to it had been placed under the superintendence of one of Maeliosa's predecessors, Edan O'Killedy. (See Chap. xxviii. §. 10)

(95) *AA. SS.* p. 158.

(96) Ware, *Bishops of Elphin at Florence O'Mulrony*.

(97) See Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Kildare*.

(98) The same, *ib.* at *Killaloe*. Ware says, that Iniscathy was united, as well as Roscrea, to Killaloe; but Harris has corrected his text in the manner stated above.

(99) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Meath*, and Archdall at *Odder*. Alemand and after him Archdall say, that this nunnery was founded by the Barnwall family. I am sure that Alemand had no authority for this assertion; for it is certain, that the Barnwalls were not settled in Meath until a very long time after that period. He was fond of complimenting distinguished Irish families with the honour of making them founders of religious houses merely on conjecture.

(100) Ware, *ib.* and Archdall at *Clonard*. See Celestin's Bull, dated 26 February, A. 1195, in *Monast. Angl. Vol.* 2. p. 1043.

(101) Ware, *ib.* at *Louth*, and Archdall at *Terfeckan*. If we are to believe Alemand, this nunnery had been founded by a McMahon. Ware does not say so, although Archdall in his careless manner refers to him for it.

(102) Ware, *Bishops at Clonfert*. The title *comorba* means, as I have often remarked, successor. But it is more probable, that St. Brendan was not a bishop, (see Chap. x. §. 7.) and accordingly, unless some particular reasons appear to the contrary, the denomination, *Comorba of Brendan*, indicates rather an abbot than a bishop.

§. XII. In 1196 died Maurice (Murchertach), bishop of Ross. He had succeeded Benedict, who was bishop there in 1172, and who seems to have died about 1190. (103) Maurice's immediate suc-

cessor was Daniel, a secular priest, who was consecrated at Rome about the year 1197 by the bishop of Albano, in virtue of an order of Celestin III, whom he had imposed upon by means of forged letters in the name of several Irish bishops, as if they attested his having been duly elected. In opposition to this fraud Florence a monk, and another monk, whose name is marked only by the initial letter E, went to Rome, where each of them alleged, that himself, not Daniel, was the person elected to the see of Ross, and Florence exposed the tricks and knavery of Daniel. On being thus informed, the Pope commissioned Matthew O'Heney of Cashel, his legate, and Charles O'Heney of Killaloe, to inquire into the pretensions of the various candidates, and directed them, in case of their finding Daniel canonically elected, to establish him in the possession of the see ; but, if otherwise, then to examine the question between Florence and E. whichever of whom could prove the truth of his claim should be consecrated by the archbishop of Cashel. Those prelates, having received this commission, cited Daniel three times to appear before them ; but he declined to do so, and accordingly was pronounced contumacious. They next inquired into the claims of Florence and E ; upon which it appeared from the concurrent testimonies of the clergy and people of Ross, of the king of Cork (Desmond), and of the bishops of the province, that Florence had been canonically elected, and E not as much as put in election ; and consequently they confirmed Florence in virtue of the apostolic authority. Meanwhile Celestine III. died, and was succeeded by Innocent III. (104) Daniel, availing himself of this circumstance, went again to Rome, and by means of certain false and roundabout statements, in which he implicated the king and bishop of Cork, and likewise Florence, deceived the new Pope as he had the former, insomuch that Innocent sent peremptory

orders, that Daniel should be put in possession of the see, and that the king of Cork should be admonished not to oppose him. Florence now found it necessary to repair to Rome, and laid before the Pope a true account of the proceedings of the prelates of Cashel and Killaloe on the commission before mentioned. The Pope, apprehensive of being circumvented by forged letters, as his predecessor had been, remanded Florence to the said prelates with a mandate to cite Daniel, if in Ireland, and to proceed canonically in the cause. But if he were not in Ireland that they should, allowing him a year, reckoned from the time of his departure for Rome, commit in the mean time the administration of the see of Ross to Florence, who, on Daniel's not returning, should be consecrated at the end of said year; and in case Daniel were in Ireland, and should refuse to appear on a citation within three months, that Florence should be consecrated without delay. The Pope set aside all power of appeal in this cause, lest the church of Ross, which had been vacant near three years, should continue longer without a pastor. (105) Florence, on his return to Ireland, was consecrated bishop of that see by the archbishop of Cashel, and thus the matter ended. (106)

(103) Ware, *ib.* at *Ross*. He says, that Benedict held the see for about 18 years after 1172.

(104) Celestin died on the 8th of January *A.* 1198, and on the same day Innocent was elected Pope.

(105) There is a full account of the whole transaction in a letter of Innocent III. to the archbishops of Armagh and Cashel and the bishop of Killaloe, (*ep.* 364. in Baluze's edition of his *Epistles*, *Lib.* 1.) dated at Perugia the 17th of September, probably of the year 1198, reckoning the almost three years, mentioned by him, from the death of Maurice in 1196. I have abridged this account; but whoever wishes to see more of it may consult Harris, *Bishops of Ross at Daniel*.

(106) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Ross*.

§. XIII. Reginald O'Flanua, bishop of Emly, died in 1197. He is supposed to have been in that see at the time of its cathedral being destroyed by fire, that is, as is said, in the year 1192. (107) I find no account of who was his immediate successor. In this year John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin, was much harrassed by Hamo de Valoniis, *alias* de Valois, who being appointed Justiciary or deputy under John, earl of Morton, and finding the English government much distressed in Ireland, commenced his career with the invasion of ecclesiastical property. He seized on several lands belonging to the see of Dublin, notwithstanding the opposition of the archbishop, who, as all his efforts to resist oppression were fruitless, removed from the cathedral the books, chalices, images, &c. and got the crucifixes crowned with thorns and stretched prostrate on the ground. He excommunicated those, who had injured him and his church, laid an interdict on the diocese, and leaving Ireland repaired to king Richard and to the prince John, from neither of whom did he meet with any redress. (108) About the same time the see of Leighlin being vacant, John a Cistercian monk, and abbot of the monastery *De Rosea valle*, *alias* Monasterevan, was elected by the Chapter and confirmed by Matthew O'Heney, archbishop of Cashel, as apostolic legate, the archbishop of Dublin being then either in England or Normandy. But Hamo de Valoniis opposed the consecration of John, and took possession of the temporalities of the church of Leighlin and of the property of the Canons. In consequence of these violent proceedings Matthew O'Heney was loth to consecrate John, who accordingly went to Rome and was well received by Innocent III., who consecrated him himself, and gave him a letter directed to the Chapter, clergy, and people of the town and diocese of Leighlin, in which, after mentioning his having received letters from them, and

from the archbishops of Armagh and Cashel, and the bishops of Ossory and Kildare, and touching upon other circumstances connected with the election, &c. he tells them, that he has consecrated John, and that he now sends him back to his church, ordering them to obey him. (109) At the same time he wrote a very sharp letter to John, earl of Morton, in which he complains of the unjust and outrageous conduct of his deputy Hamo, and of John himself having detained the archbishop of Dublin in Normandy, and admonishes him not to prevent the bishop John, whom he himself had consecrated, from administering the see of Leighlin, and to take care that he be not molested by any other person. He desires him to make Hamo refund to the church and Canons of Leighlin what he had taken from them, and threatens him, in case of non-compliance, with disappointing him as to certain hopes of his, perhaps those, which John entertained of being declared king of Ireland. (110) These letters must have been written in 1198, the first year of Innocent's pontificate, being dated in September, (111) while John was only earl of Morton, and consequently prior to his having been crowned king of England on the 26th of May A. D. 1199. Meanwhile Hamo, having plundered not only the church, but likewise the laity, whereby he became very rich, was recalled in 1198, and Meiler Fitzhenry substituted in his place. (112) Some time after, in compensation for the injuries he had done to the see of Dublin, he made a grant of 20 plough-lands to the archbishop, John Cumin, and to his successors. (113)

(107) The same, *ib.* at *Emly*. Ware does not mark this fire at A. 1192, but Harris does.

(108) Hoveden at A. 1197, p. 773. *Ber. Angl. Scriptores*, Frankfort A. 1601. Ware, *Annals* at A. 1197, and Leland, *Hist. &c. B.* 1. ch. 5.

(109) This letter is No. 366 in Lib. 1. of the *Epistolae*, ed. by Baluze. It is dated from Perugia 21st September.

(110) This letter is No. 367, *ib.* dated 18th September.

(111) This is the month of the date also of the letter concerning the affair of Ross, and they are likewise addressed from Perugia, whereby is confirmed what I have observed (above *Not.* 105) as to that letter having been written in 1198.

(112) See Ware, *Annals* at A: 1198, and Leland, *B.* 1. *ch.* 6.

(113) Ware and Harris, *Bishops* at *John Cumin*.

§. xiv. Cornelius Mac-dermot, king or prince of Moylurg, who had taken the Cistercian habit in the abbey of Boyle, died there in 1197; and to the same year is assigned the death of Flahertach O'Maldory, prince of Tirconnel. (114) The following year is remarkable for the death of the last king of all Ireland, Roderic O'Conor, who departed this life in the monatery of Cong, where he had spent several of his last years. (115) After his death terrible dissensions and wars occurred between Cathal Crobhdearg O'Conor and Cathal Carrach O'Conor, each assuming the title of king of Connaught; but it is not my province to enter into a history of these bloody and unhappy contests. In said year 1198 a bishop of Raphoe, whose name is not known, resigned his see, and another was chosen in his stead; but this resignation was disapproved of by Innocent III. who in a letter to the archbishop of Armagh, dated from Rome May 18, says that as said resignation was irregular, he had already directed him to compel the bishop to resume his pastoral functions, in which case should he voluntarily resign the see into the hands of the archbishop, then the clergy of that church should bring the new bishop to election according to the canons, and the archbishop might confirm and consecrate him. (116) At this time Donogh O'Beoda was bishop of Killybegs, at whose request the same Pope, by a decree of the 30th of March, same year, confirmed the anci-

cient possessions of his see. (117) In 1199 died Richard I. king of England, and was succeeded by his brother John, earl of Morton, styled *Lord of Ireland*. The Cistercian abbey of St. Mary of Comerer, *alias* Comber or Cumber, in the now county of Down, and barony of Castlereagh, was founded in this year by Brian Catha Dun, ancestor of the O'Neils of Clandeboys, who supplied it with monks from Alba Landa in Carmarthenshire. (118) At said year is marked the death of a holy man, Maurice O'Baodain, in the island of Hy, (119) of whose monastery he was apparently a member. Augustin, the bishop of Waterford, who had been nominated by Henry II. and had assisted at the Lateran council in 1179, must have died about these times; for we find that see in the possession of one Robert in the year 1200. (120)

(114) Ware, *Annals* at A. 1197. (115) Ware, *ib.* at A. 1198.

(116) This letter is No. 177, *Lib.* 1. of the above mentioned collection. Ware supposes, (*Bishops* at *Raphoe*) that it was written in 1198.

(117) Ware and Harris, *ib.* at *Killala*.

(118) Ware, *Annals* at A. 1199. and *Antiq. cap.* 26 at *Down*. Also Archdall at *Cumber*, who most strangely places Cumber three miles S. W. of Strangford, while on the contrary it lies many miles to the north of that town. Alemand in his conjectural and impertinent manner attributes the foundation of this abbey to the family of the Whites.

(119) *Tr. Th.* p. 501.

(120) Ware and Harris, *Bishops* at *Waterford*.

§. xv. To said year 1200 is assigned the foundation of two Cistercian monasteries by Donogh Carbrach O'Brian, the successor of Donald king of North Munster. One was that of Kilcoul or Kilcooley in the now county of Tipperary, and barony of Stewarda and Compsy. It was otherwise called the abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary *De arvi campo*,

and was a daughter of the monastery of Ieripont or Ierpoint, that is, it received its first monks from that establishment. (121) The other was the abbey of Corcumroe, if, however, it had not been already founded by his father Donald. (122) The Cistercian abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Tintern, or *De voto*, in the now county of Wexford, and barony of Shelburne, was founded in this year by William Mareschal the elder, earl of Pembroke, in consequence of a vow, which, when in great danger at sea, he had made of erecting a monastery in the place, where he might first arrive in safety. This happened to be near Bannow bay, where Tintern is situated. He endowed it, and supplied it with monks from Tintern in Monmouthshire, over whom John Torrel was placed as first abbot. (123) Another Cistercian monastery, likewise of the Blessed Virgin, was established in said year at Kilbeggan in Westmeath, and supplied with monks from Mellifont. It was called *De flumine Dei* by allusion, I suppose, to the river Brosna, near which that town is situated. (124) About the same time the magnificent monastery of Athassel, near the Suir, three miles from Cashel, was founded in honour of St. Edmund, king and martyr, by William Fitz-Adelm de Burgo, for Canons Regular of St. Augustin. The founder was buried there in 1204, as were in later times some of his posterity. (125) In or about the same year 1200 Theobald Walter, Butler of Ireland, founded and endowed a priory at Nenagh, likewise for Canons Regular, with an hospital annexed, where they were to attend the sick, that served God there. As it was dedicated in the name of St. John, it was commonly called *Teach-eon* or the house of John. (126) The priory of St. Mary of Tristernagh in Westmeath, barony of Moygoish, was established and endowed for persons of the same order about this time by Geoffry de Constantine. (127) To these times we might, according to one account,

assign the foundation of the priory of Aroasian Canons at Rathkeale in the now county of Limerick, under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary; but it appears more probable, that it did not exist until after the year 1200, (128) In like manner the Cistercian abbey of Woney or Wetheny, *alias* Abington, in said county, which some have affixed to the latter end of the 12th century, was in all appearance not founded until 1205, the year prior to the death of its founder Theobald Fitz-Walter, Butler of Ireland, who was interred there in 1206. (129) Thus the house of Gilbertin Canons at Balimore, near Lough Seudy in Westmeath, has been assigned to the 12th century, although it was not founded until the year 1218. (130). The monastery of Kilkenny West, in the same county, for Cruciferi, likewise a branch of the Canons Regular of St. Augustin, which could not have been founded until some time in the 13th century, has been marked as belonging to the 12th (131).

(121) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Tipperary*. Harris, *Monast. at Cistercians*. Archdall at *Kilcooly*. In the *Monast. Angl.* (Vol. 2. p. 1029.) there is a deed of king Henry III. confirming the grant made to this abbey, there called *Kylleconil*, by Donald O'Brian. Instead of *Donald* must be read *Donogh*; for, as Ware observes, according to the book of the statutes of the Irish Cistercians it was founded in 1200, six years after Donald's death. He mentions the Register of Richmond, which brings it down to 1209. This would not prevent its having been founded by Donogh; but in all probability the true date is 1200.

(122) See above §. 10.

(123) Ware, *ib.* at Wexford, and *Annals* at *A.* 1200. See also Archdall at *Tintern*, and *Monast. Angl.* Vol. 2. p. 1032.

(124) Ware, *ib.* at *Westmeath*. Harris, *Monast. at Cistercians*, and Archdall at *Kilbeggan*. Alemand in his conjectural way attributes this foundation to the Daltons; but Ware, infinitely better authority, says nothing of the founder.

(125) See Ware, *ib.* at *Tipperary*, and Archdall at *Athassel*.

(126) Ware, *ib.*

(127) Ware, *ib.* at *Westmeath*, and Archdall at *Tristernagh*. The deed for this foundation, witnessed by Simon (Rochfort) bishop of Meath, may be seen in *Monastiv. Angl. Vol. 2. p. 1046*.

(128) Harris (*Monast.*) marks it at about 1200; but neither Ware nor Archdall mentions the time of its foundation. It existed, however, in the latter part of the 13th century. Were we to believe Alemand, its founder was one Harvey.

(129) See Ware, *Antiq. cap. 26.* at *Limerick*, and Archdall at *Abington*. The charter of foundation and endowment is in *Monastic. Angl. Vol. 2. p. 1034*, marked about A. 1205.

(130) Ware (*ib.* at *Westmeath*) has this monastery, but does not mention the time of its foundation. Harris, who is often very loose in his dates, places it (*Monast. at Praemonstre Canons*) in the 12th century. Now, as Archdall observes (at *Ballimore*), it was not founded until 1218.

(131) Harris, *Monast. at Cruciferi*. Ware (*loc. cit.*) touches on this monastery without telling us when founded, or who was the founder. But Archdall (at *Kilkenny West*) shows, that it was founded by Thomas Dillon, a priest, and grandson of Sir Thomas Dillon. As Sir Thomas did not come to Ireland until 1185, and was then very young, it follows, that his grandson was not a priest, nor a founder of a religious house until many years after 1200. (See Lodge's *Peerage at Visct. Dillon.*) Alemand attributes this foundation to the Tyrrel family, and why? Because there were Tyrrels in that country.

§. xvi. There were several other religious establishments formed about the end of the 12th century; but I do not find the precise years of their foundations. The priory of St. John Baptist near Kells, for the same order of Cruciferi, was founded by Walter de Lacy. (132) This order had a priory, called of St. Leonard, with an hospital annexed to it, near Dundalk, which had been founded towards the close of the reign of Henry II. by Bertram de Verdon, lord of that place. (133) Two Benedictine

priories, one near Cork, and the other near Waterford, both under the name of St. John the Evangelist, were founded by prince John, while only earl of Morton, consequently in the 12th century, and made cells to the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul in Bath. (134). The Benedictine nunnery of Kilcreunata, *alias*, of the Castle wood, in the now county of Galway, was founded by Cathal Crobhdearg O'Connor about 1200. Afterwards were annexed to it the cells of Inchmean in Mayo and Ardarn in Roscommon. (135) St. Mary's nunnery of Grany, in the now county of Kildare, for Augustin canonesses was founded about the same time by Walter de Riddlesford; (136) and nearly at the same time Robert son of Richard, lord of Norragh, founded that of St. Mary of Timolin in said county (barony of Narragh and Rheban) for Augustin nuns, following the Aroasian rule, in which he placed a daughter of his. (137) Another nunnery of Augustin canonesses is mentioned as having existed at this period in Killeigh, a once celebrated place in the now King's county (barony of Geashill). (138) The house of Canons Regular of Kilrush in the county of Kildare, three miles and a half west of old Kilcullen, a cell to the priory of Carthmel in Lancashire, was founded by William Mareschal earl of Pembroke, but whether in the late part of the 12th, or the early one of the 13th century, I am not able to determine. (139) A priory of the same order is said to have been founded near Naas by a baron of Naas in the 12th century. (140) Whether the similar priory of Selsker, called of Sts. Peter and Paul, near Wexford, of which the Roches were at least, patrons, existed in these times is uncertain. But if it be true, as some say, that it was founded by the Danes, it must have been long prior to the end of said century. (141) The military religious orders, which had no establishments in Ireland

until the arrival of the English, obtained many afterwards. We have already seen of that of Kilmainham by Strongbow. (142) At Clontarf there was a commandery, called of St. Comgall, for Knights Templars, since the reign of Henry II. (143) One for Knights Hospitalers was founded at Wexford under the names of St. John and St. Bridged by William Mareschal, earl of Pembroke; but whether before or after the commencement of the 13th century I cannot clearly discover. (144) Another for the same order was founded by Walter de Lacy during the reign of Richard I., consequently in the 12th century, at Kilmainham-beg near Nobber in the now county of Meath. (145) The one for the same order at the place now called Castle-buy in the Ardes, county of Down, could not have been founded until the 13th century; for its founder was Hugh de Lacy, earl of Ulster, who was not until then distinguished by that title. (146) A commandery for Knights Templars was established by Matilda de Lacy at Kilsaran in the now county of Louth, barony of Ardee, and, although I think it could not have been so early, is said to have been founded in the 12th century. (147) There were three similar commanderies in the county of Waterford, Kilbarry within the Liberties of the city of Waterford, Killure two miles east of said city, and Crook in the barony of Gualtiere; the two former are assigned to the 12th century, and the last to the 13th. (148)

(132) Ware (*ib.* at *Meath*) does not mark the time. Harris (*loc. cit.*) has *Cent.* 12. Archdall (at *Kells*) following Alemand, poor authority, says that it was in the reign of Richard I. If this be true, it was founded in the 12th century.

(133) Ware, *ib.* at *Louth*, and Archdall at *Dundalk*.

(134) Ware, *ib.* at *Cork* and *Waterford*. Archdall (at *Waterford*) pretends, that John founded the priory there in 1185, because that was the year of his arrival in that city. This is an ill-founded conclusion.

(135) Ware, *ib.* at *Galway*, and Archdall at *Kilcreunata*. I do not find mentioned in what part of the county of Galway this place was situated; but it appears, that it was not far distant from the county of Roscommon.

(136) Ware, *ib.* at *Kildare*. Harris was mistaken (*Monast.*) in placing this nunnery in the county of Carlow, whereas Grany lies in the barony of Kilkea and Moon (co. Kildare) not far from Castle-Dermot. (See Archdall at *Grany*.)

(137) Ware, *ib.* Archdall (at *Timolin*) says, his grand-daughter *Lecelina*.

(138) Ware (*ib.* at *King's County*) does not state by whom this nunnery was founded, nor at what time whether before or after the arrival of the English. The conjectural Alemand tells us, that it was founded by the Warren family, and hence Harris assigned it to the 12th century. Archdall also (at *Killeigh*) follows Alemand, and in his careless manner refers to Ware, as if he had attributed its foundation to the Warrens. I suspect, that it existed long before the English settled in Ireland; for Killeigh was distinguished of old as a religious place.

(139) Ware (*ib.* at *Kildare*) does not mark the time of this foundation. Harris (*Monast.*) assigns it to the 12th century, and Archdall (at *Kilrushe*) to the beginning of the 13th.

(140) Harris, *ib.* and Archdall at *Naas*. Ware (*loc. cit.*) says nothing of the time.

(141) Neither Ware (*ib.* at *Wexford*) nor Archdall (at *Wexford*) marks the time of its foundation. Harris (*loc. cit.*) assigns it to the 12th century. This priory existed in 1240. See Ware (*Bishops of Ferns at Johannes de S. Johanne*) and Archdall *ib.*

(142) Chap. xxix. §. II. (143) Ware *ib.* at *Dublin*.

(144) Ware (*ib.* at *Wexford*) does not mention any particular time; nor does Archdall at *Wexford*. Harris (*loc. cit.*) in his general way has *Cent. 12*.

(145) Ware, *ib.* at *Meath*.

(146) Ware (*ib.* at *Down*) does not mark the time of this foundation, but attributes it to Hugh de Lacy, *earl of Ulster*. Yet Harris (*loc. cit.*) and Archdall (at *Castle-buy*) place it in the 12th century.

(147) Although Ware (*ib.* at *Louth*) makes no mention of the time, yet Harris (*loc. cit.*) and Archdall (at *Kilsaran*) have

Cent. 12. But the Matilda de Lacy meant by Ware was in all appearance the daughter of Walter de Lacy, lord of Meath, and could not have flourished until the 13th century. Her father died in 1234.

(148) Ware (*ib.* at *Waterford*) is silent as to the times and founders of these establishments. But Harris (*loc. cit.*) and Archdall (at said places) mark the centuries as above; and Archdall adds from Alemand, fine authority, that the one of Crook was founded by a baron of Curraghmore.

CHAP. XXXII.

Death of Thomas O'Connor archbishop of Armagh, and of several other bishops—Inquiry concerning the ancient sees of Ireland—and of ancient monasteries—The great monastery of Hy still kept up, and considered as an Irish establishment—Amalgad O'Fergal elected abbot of Hy by the clergy of the North of Ireland—Account of the early Monkish Orders in Ireland—Ancient Irish liturgies—The Cursus Scotorum—Ancient Irish Canons—Ecclesiastical architecture of the ancient Irish—Description of the ancient church of Kildare—Inquiry on the origin and uses of the ancient round towers.

SECT. I.

I DO not find the death of any Irish prelate marked at the year 1200; but several of them died not long after. Thomas O'Connor, archbishop of Armagh who has left a high reputation for piety and learning, departed this life in 1201, and was buried in the abbey of Mellifont. After his death a great contest took place with regard to the choice of his successor, the electors being divided in their votes

relative to the candidates, among whom were Ralph le Petit, archdeacon of Meath, and Humphrey de Tickhull. The king John espoused the party of Tickhull; but the Pope Innocent III. confirmed the appointment of Eugene Mac-Gillivider, which the king refused to agree to, insomuch that on Tickhull's death in 1203 he took part with Ralph le Petit. But his opposition was ineffectual; for the Pope's authority prevailed, and the king became reconciled to Eugene, who thenceforth governed the see peaceably until his death at Rome in 1216. (1) Catholcus or Cadla O'Dubhai, archbishop of Tuam, a highly respected prelate, after having held that see forty years, died at a very advanced age in the same year, 1201, in the monastery of Augustin Canons at Cong, and was succeeded by Felix O'Ruadan, a Cistercian monk. (2) In or about said year died Malachy, usually called the third, bishop of Down, whose successor was one Ralph, apparently a Scotchman; as did also John, bishop of Leighlin, who was succeeded by Herlewin, a Cistercian, as John himself had been. (3) Felix O'Dullany, bishop of Ossory, died in 1202, and was buried in the Cistercian church of Ieripont or Ierpoint, to which he had been a benefactor. It is said, that many miracles have been wrought at his tomb, which was at the north side of the high altar. (4) According to some writers it was he that removed the see of Ossory from Aghaboe to Kilkenny; but this is rather doubtful. (5) He was succeeded by Hugh Rufus, an Englishman, and Canon Regular of St. Augustin, who was prior of the house of Kells in the now county of Kilkenny. (6) Briccius, bishop of Limerick, was most probably dead in these times; for we find, that his successor Donogh or Donat O'Brian of the princely house of that name, a learned, liberal, and zealous prelate, died in 1207. (7) As from what is related of him it appears, that he held the see of Limerick for some years, we may fairly

conclude, that Briccius, who was living in 1194, (8) died about the end of the 12th century. Not to encroach further on the history of times, of which I do not mean to treat, I shall conclude this necrology with the death of the illustrious Matthew O'Heney, of which we read: "A. D. 1206. Mat-
 " thew, archbishop of Cashel, legate of all Ireland,
 " the wisest and most religious man of the natives
 " of that country, having founded many churches,
 " and triumphed over the old enemy of mankind
 " by working many miracles, voluntarily abandon-
 " ing all worldly pomp, happily went to rest in
 " the abbey of Holy Cross" (in the county of Tipperary). (9) He had written some tracts, among which was a Life of St. Cuthbert bishop of Lindisfarne, and was succeeded by Donogh or Donatus O'Lonargan, likewise a Cistercian monk. (10)

(1) Ware and Harris at *Archbishops of Armagh*. Harris seems to say, that Eugene was appointed by Papal provision, independently of any election. But it is evident, even from his own account of the matter, that there had been an election; and all that the Pope did was to confirm the choice made of Eugene as the most regular and best supported. Innocent III. was a strenuous abettor of canonical elections. John preferred the others, being Englishmen or Normans, to Eugene, who was an Irishman.

(2) Ware, *Archbishops of Tuam*. Harris adds, that Felix O'Ruadan was uncle to Roderic O'Conor, king of Connaught. I suspect, that this is a mistake; for he lived until 1238, and is not spoken of as having reached an extraordinary age, as must have been the case were he an uncle of Roderic.

(3) Ware, *Bishops at Down and Leighlin*. John was the bishop, of whom we have seen above, Chap. xxxi. §. 13.

(4) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Ossory*.

(5) See Chap. xxix. §. 14. and *ib. Not.* 92.

(6) Ware and Harris, *ib.* (7) *Ib.* at *Limerick*.

(8) See Chap. xxxi. §. 10.

(9) Annals of Mary's abbey, and Ware and Harris, *Archbishops of Cashel*.

(10) Ware and Harris, *ib.* and at *Writers*. Harris calls Donat O'Lonargan *the second* by allusion to the O'Lonargan, archbishop of Cashel, who assisted at the council at Kells, and who died in 1158. But that O'Lonargan's christian name was not *Donogh* or *Donat*. It was *Domnald*, alias *Donald* or *Donall*. (See *Chap.* XXVII. §. 14. and XXVIII. §. 5.)

§. II. The number of distinct episcopal sees was at the close of the 12th century nearly the same as that, which is stated to have been established by the council at Kells, and of which I have already given a list. (11) But about that time, or the early part of the 13th century, three of the sees mentioned in it, *viz.* Kells, Roscrea, and Iniscatthy, were merged in or united to others. (12) On the other hand the see of Enaghdone (Annadown in the county of Galway), although not in that list, continued to exist, and did so more or less until after many contentions with the archbishops of Tuam it was at length, after a long lapse of time, united to that see. (13) In like manner the see of Dromore, which also is omitted in said list, either still existed, or was revived in an early part of the 13th century. (14) Whether the see of Kilmore, of which likewise there is no mention in that list, was established or not before the 13th century, I am not able to determine. The earliest bishop of that see, or, as its bishops were first called, of Triburna, their original residence, or Breffny, of whose existence there is no doubt, died as late as A. D. 1231. (15) Some of our ancient sees, which still were kept up in the early part of the 12th century, seem to have entirely disappeared before the end of it. Thus those of Cong and Ardarn, which existed at the time of the synod of Rath-Breasail in or about 1118, (16) ceased, probably prior to the holding of the council of Kells, the former being united to Tuam and the latter to Elphin. (17) In the proceedings of said council there is no mention made of them. As to

several other old sees or places, in which there had been occasionally bishops in old times, such as Trim, Drumclieff, Lusk, &c. &c. I do not meet with a succession of bishops in them during any part of the 12th century. Many of our ancient monasteries had by these times ceased to exist. Several of them had been destroyed by the Danes; others, which were plundered and burned, as we have seen many instances of, during the wars between the Irish themselves, or those between them and the Anglo-Normans, not being rebuilt dropped off. (18) But to such persons, as wished to embrace the religious or monastic state, sufficient opportunities were afforded by the many establishments for Canons Regular of St. Augustin, and the Cistercian monasteries, adding some Benedictine ones, that were formed during the 12th century, and of which I have made mention in their proper and respective places.

(11) See *Chap.* xxvii. §. 15.

(12) See *Chap.* xxxi. §. 9 and 11. These sees are reckoned as existing by Cencius in his *Census Camerales*. But it is to be observed, that Cencius completed that book in the year 1192, (*Fleury, Hist. Eccl. L.* 78. §. 1.) at which time those junctions had not taken place.

(13) See Ware and Harris at *Archbishops of Tuam*. We have met above (*Chap.* xxxi. §. 7.) with a bishop of Enaghdone named Concors. Enaghdone is in a list of Irish sees, which Camden has (*col.* 1329. *Gibson's ed.*) from a Roman *Provinciale*, and which Bingham (*Origines, &c. B.* ix. *ch.* 6. *sect.* 19.) has copied from him. This list differs also in some other respects from that, which I have already given (*Chap.* xxvii. §. 15). It omits Kells, and has a see under the archbishop of Tuam, called *De Cellaiaro*, which I know not what to make of, unless it was the same as Kill-air in the now county of Westmeath, where St. Aidus, son of Brec, had been bishop in the sixth century. (See *Chap.* xii. §. 2.) Kill-air, although not in the present province of Connaught, might have been subject to Tuam, in the same manner

as Clonmacnois was for some time. In the said list both Roscommon and Elphin are distinctly mentioned, while in the other we find Roscommon alone. Bingham has (*ib.*) another list, published by Carolus a S. Paulo, likewise from a Roman *Provinciale*, and which makes the suffragan sees of Ireland amount to fifty-three. But it is a hodgepodge half unintelligible, and scarcely worth consideration. It has, however, one point, which ought not to be passed over, *viz.* its calling the see of Down *alias* that of Dromore. Hence it is more probable, that Dromore, during the time of its not existing separately, was included rather in the diocese of Down, as I have conjectured elsewhere, (*Not.* 106. to *Chap.* xxvii.) than in that of Armagh, as some thought, *ap.* Ware (*Bishops at Dromore*).

(14) The same, *Bishops at Dromore*. (Compare with *Not. prec.*)

(15) *Ib.* at *Kilmore*. It has been seen, (*Chap.* x. §. 3) that that there is no proof of St. Fedlimid, the patron saint of Kilmore, having been a bishop, or, at least, of that see.

(16) See *Chap.* xxv. §. 13. 14.

(17) Harris (*Bishops at Elphin*) calls one Denis O'Mulkyran *bishop of Ardcarne*, who, he says, died in 1224. If he be right, the name of the see of Ardcarne would have been retained at that time, although, as he observes, it was then united with Elphin. But said Denis was not a bishop, being only archdeacon or erenach of Ardcarne. (Archdall at *Ardcarne*.) Such archdeacons used to be found in places, which had been once episcopal sees.

(18) It would be an endless and almost fruitless task to inquire into the particular times, at which so many of those old monasteries disappeared. The reader, on looking over Archdall's *Monasticon*, and noting the periods, at which the succession of their abbots ceased, will perceive that a great number of them had fallen off, some sooner, some later, before the beginning of the 13th century.

§ III. Yet a considerable number of the old monasteries, particularly the larger ones, still continued to exist, such as those of Armagh, Derry, Bangor, Maghbile or Moville in the county of Down, Devenish, Clogher, Clones, Louth, Clonfert, Inch-

macnerin, the isles of Arran, Cong, Mayo, Clonard, Kells, Lusk, Kildare, Trim, Clonmacnois, Killeigh, Glendaloch, Saigir, the island of All saints in Lough-ree, Roscommon, Ballysadare, Drumclieff, Aghaboe, Lothra or Lorra, Lismore, Molana, Cork, Iniscatthy, Innisfallen, (19) and several others. The great monastery of Hy was still kept up, and considered as an Irish establishment, of which we have a clear proof in a transaction that occurred in the year 1203. One Kellach erected a monastery in Hy in opposition to the elders of the place, upon which the clergy of the North of Ireland held a meeting, which was attended by Florence O'Kervallen, bishop of Tirone (Derry), Moeliosa O'Dorigh, bishop of Tirconnel (Raphoe) and abbot of the monastery of Saints Peter and Paul at Armagh, Amalgad O'Fergal, abbot of Derry, Anmir O'Cobhtaich, and many others. Afterwards they all went to Hy, demolished the monastery, which had been built by Kellach, and placed over the abbey the above mentioned Amalgad, who was unanimously elected abbot. (20) This election of Amalgad seems to show, that Kellach was abbot of Hy, and that he was deposed on this occasion. What was his object in erecting a new monastery I cannot ascertain. Perhaps his intention was to introduce a new order into the island, perhaps of Cistercians or Augustin Canons, for both of which there was a great predilection in Ireland; or it may be supposed, that his only view was to construct a new edifice for the Columbian monks more aplendid and commodious than the old monastery, and on a different site, which the monks objected to on account of their attachment to every thing connected with the memory of St. Columba. These monks, as well as the whole of the Columbian order, still adhered, as far as I can discover, to their old rule and system; but several other Irish monasteries seem to have adopted before or about these times the rule of the Canons Regular of St. Augustin. (21)

The transition was not difficult; for the old Irish rules did not, in substance, differ much from that of said Canons, inasmuch as they were not as strictly monastical as those of the Egyptian, Basilian, or Benedictine monks, and allowed, without particular dispensation, the union of the active service of the Church, such as practised by the secular clergy, with the observance of monastic regulations, which, although varying more or less, were, as I have often remarked, founded on the system, which St. Patrick had seen followed in Lerins and at Tours, and which he introduced into Ireland. (22) Now the characteristic feature of the Canons Regular, which distinguishes them from monks emphatically so called, is, that, although they make vows and are bound to observe certain laws similar to those of the monks, they are capable of practising the functions, which usually belong to the secular clergy.

(19) See Archdall at these places.

(20) *Tr. Th.* p. 501. Florence O'Kervallan, or O'Cherballen, is called by Ware bishop of Derry. His being here styled bishop of Tirone is owing to a considerable part of that territory having been in these times comprized in the diocese of Derry. This was not the case until after Muredach O'Cobhtaich became bishop of Derry in the place of Flathbert O'Brolcan. For before that time the title of *bishop of Tirone*, or *Kinel-Eogain*, used to be given to the bishop of Ardstraw. (See *Chap.* xxix. §. 5. and *Not.* 100. to *Chap.* xxvii.) Anmir O'Cobhtaich, who attended the meeting, was a Columbian monk; for he was afterwards abbot of Derry. (*Tr. Th.* p. 505.)

(21) See Ware, *Opuscula S. Patr.* &c. p. 117.

(22) See *Chap.* iv. §. 9. 12. and vii. §. 15.

§. iv. Yet the system of the ancient Irish communities was much more severe than that of the Canons Regular, as is clear from the Rule of St. Columbanus, which was taken from those of the monasteries in Ireland, particularly that of Bangor, of

which that great saint had been a member. After the great law of loving God and our neighbour, the first thing required of a monk was implicit obedience to the orders of his superior without complaining or murmuring. Silence was strictly enjoined, except on necessary and useful occasions. Their fare was of a very simple kind, consisting of herbs, pulse, farinaceous substances mixed with water, and a small allowance of biscuit. Their meal was late in the day; but, although scanty, and such as to render every day a sort of a fast-day, it was sufficient for the necessities of nature without injuring the health or impairing the strength of the body, or preventing the monks from fulfilling their duties of praying, working, and reading. (23) They were not allowed to eat any thing before None (three o'clock in the afternoon) on Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year, a regulation which was observed, and, according to some accounts, still oftener in all the Irish monasteries. (24) Independently of the great fast of Lent, which did not begin, at least as late as the tenth century, in Ireland until the Saturday previous to the first Sunday of that holy season, (25) the regular weekly fast-days, observed by the whole Irish church, were Wednesdays and Fridays, nor was the fast, or, as now practised, the abstinence on Saturday, which has been substituted for that of Wednesday, received in Ireland until a very long time after it had been established in other parts of the Western church. (26) The ancient Irish monks generally abstained, as far I can discover, at all times from flesh meat, but they were allowed to eat fish, (27) and even in Lent the use of eggs was not prohibited. (28) Yet some monasteries possessed sheep and cows, (29) the former chiefly for the sake of the wool, of which the monks made their garments, and the latter on account of the milk, which was much used by them, and allowed even on the days of the strictest fast. (30) They used, however, to treat

guests and strangers with flesh meat. (31) Their usual drink was milk or water ; yet they occasionally drank beer and even wine. (32) The Irish monks were at the same time instructed, that the external observance of fasts and abstinence does not in itself constitute sanctity, and that it is not enough to chastise the body, unless the soul be cured of malice and iniquity. (33). In fact, the greatest part of the Rule of St. Columbanus is relative to the necessity of suppressing cupidity and even a wish for superfluities, and of a total contempt of the things of this world ; (34) the strict obligation of shunning vanity and pride, of observing chastity not only externally but inwardly in the mind, and of adhering to the straight rule of all the Christian virtues, but with discretion and prudence ; the constant spirit of mortification, humility, patience, and abandonment of self will.

(23) St. Columbanus has in his Rule (*cap. 3. De cibo et potu*): “ Cibus sit vilis et vespertinus monachorum, satietatem fugiens et potus ebrietatem, ut et sustineat et non noceat. Olera, legumina, farinae aquis mixtae cum parvo *paximatio*, ne venter oneretur et mens suffocetur ; et enim utilitati et usui tantum consulendum est aeterna desiderantibus praemia ; ideo temperandus est ita usus sicut temperandus est labor ; quia haec est vera discretio, ut possibilitas spiritualis profectus cum abstinentia carnem macerante retentetur. Si enim modum abstinentia excesserit, vitium non virtus erit ; virtus enim multa sustinet bona et continet. Ergo quotidie jejunandum est, sicut quotidie reficiendum est ; et dum quotidie edendum est, vilius et parcius corpori indulgendum est, quia ideo quotidie edendum est, quia quotidie proficiendum est, quotidie orandum est, quotidie laborandum, quotidieque est legendum.” The word, *paximatio*, has been explained by some as meaning bread baked under embers, but is more usually understood of biscuit, and often occurs in old documents. One of them weighed six ounces, and Cassian says, (*Collat. 19. cap. 4.*) that two of them used to be given to each monk every day. (See Duncange at *paximatio*.)

(24) In the *Poenitentialis* or second part of the Rule of St. Columbanus (see *Not.* 15 to *Chap.* XIII.) it is ordered that, if any monk eats before None on those days, unless he be sick or infirm, he must fast for two days on bread and water. “*Si quis ante horam nonam quarta sextaque feria manducat, nisi infirmus; duos dies in pane et aqua.*” St. Aidan brought this practice from Ireland to Northumberland, where, according to his example, it was followed, except in the Paschal time between Easter Sunday and Whitsuntide, by the religious men and women, as Bede thus informs us (*Eccl. Hist. L. 3. c. 5.*): “*Cujus (Aidani) exemplis informati, tempore illo, religiosi quique viri ac foeminae consuetudinem fecerunt per totum annum, excepta remissione quinquagesimae paschalis, quarta et sexta sabbati jejunium ad nonam usque horam protelare.*” Whether St. Columbanus excepted the paschal time I do not find mentioned; but it is probable that he did. Ratramn of Corbie, who lived in the 9th century, goes still further, and says in his fourth book against the Greeks, that all the monks and persons belonging to religious communities throughout Ireland used to fast *every day*, except Sundays and holidays, until None or even later. There he writes, as quoted by Usher (*Pr. p.* 731); “*Scotorum natio Hiberniam insulam inhabitans consuetudinem habet per monasteria monachorum seu canonicorum, vel quorumcunque religiosorum, omni tempore praeter Dominicam festosque dies jejunare, nec nisi vel ad nonam vel ad vesperam corpori cibum indulgere.*” We have seen (*Chap.* xxx. §. 6.) that even in the latter part of the 12th century the Irish clergy in general, a great part of whom were monks, observed the practice of fasting almost every day until late in the evening. Many pious persons, hermits, &c. used to live merely on water herbs, cresses, and water, which they took at the close of the day. In the sixth or metrical Life of St. Brigid we read, that she and her virgins were wont for some time to go in search of such fare;

“*Vespere flumineas quaerebant fontibus herbas,
Antiqui soliti queis vitam ducere sancti
Frigida cum crispis sumebant pocula et herbis.*

Tr. Th. p. 593.

We meet with in some Lives of Irish saints accounts of extraor.

dinary fasting from any food for some days; but this excess was not authorized by the monastic rules, which required that, as the monks had daily duties to perform, they should eat every day.

(25) See *Not.* 105. to *Chap.* v.

(26) It has been said, that in this point the Irish followed the practice of the Greek church, whose weekly fast days are Wednesdays and Fridays, rather than that of the Roman. But the fact is, that the ancient Roman church had the same practice; and it does not appear, that the fast of Saturday was observed at Rome until some time, and apparently a late one, in the 4th century. It might seem that it was first introduced there by Pope Innocent I., (see the 6th lesson of the Roman Breviary at 28 July, and Platina at *Innocent I.*) whose pontificate began in 402 and ended in 417; but some writers undersand his approbation of it as confirming a practice already observed and not establishing a new one. (See Sandini, *Vitae Pontif. Roman.* at *Innocent I.*) St. Augustin, who was contemporary with that Pope, remarks, (*Ep.* 86. *ad Casulanum*) that in his time it was observed at Rome and in some Western churches, but that in others it was not. The first certain account we find of it is in the 26th canon of the council of Eliberis in Spain, held in the year 305. (See Bingham, *Origines &c.* B. xx. ch. 3. sect. 6.) I think he is mistaken in saying, that it was practised a little earlier at Rome. It was not received at Milan in the times of St. Ambrose, nor, I believe, for a considerable time after in the Gallican church, the discipline of which was brought to Ireland by St. Patrick. Wherever it was kept, this fast did not at first set aside that of Wednesday; but its observers had, instead of two, three fast days in the week. (Bingham, *ib.* B. xxi. ch. 3. sect. 6.) Wednesday was universally kept as a fast day in Ireland down to the times of Colgan. (See *Not.* 182. to *Chap.* xi.) From the long permanence of this fast, or at least abstinence, it has come to pass, that to this day there are numbers of persons in this country, who scrupulously abstain from flesh meat on every Wednesday in the year, Ware mentions, (*Opusc. S. Patr.* p. 99.) that some explain *Dia Cedain*, the Irish name for Wednesday, as signifying the first fasting day of the week. But O'Brien (*Irish Diction.* at *Dia*) gives a quite different etymology.

(27) The monks of Hy had a sort of sea-water pond, in which

were kept sea-calves or seals for the use of the monastery (see *Not.* 183 to *Chap.* xi); for that kind of fish used to be eaten in those times. Their taking of other sorts of fish is mentioned by Adamnan (*vit. S. Col. L. 2. cap.* 19). St. Gallus was employed at Bregentz in fishing for the use of the brethren and of others. (*Chap.* xiii. §. 11.)

(28) The holy bishop Cedd, who had been educated at Lindisfarne by Aidan and Finan, while strictly observing a Lent fast, used every day, except on Sundays, to take in the evening only a little bread, one egg, and a small quantity of milk mixed with water. (Bede, *Eccl. Hist. L. 3. cap.* 23.)

(29) St. Columba had sheep in Hy. (See *Not.* 183. to *Chap.* xi.) He had also cows, (Adamnan *Vit. S. Col. L. 2. cap.* 16.) whereas milk was much used by his monks. The Irish Columbian monks of Northumberland possessed some cattle. (See *Chap.* xviii. §. 1. and *ib.* *Not.* 5.) St. Bridgid had sheep, cows, and even swine. (*Cogitosus, Vit. S. Brig.* capp. 8, 16, and 20.)

(30) See above *Not.* 28.

(31) We read in the Life of St. Molua, (concerning whom see *Chap.* xii. §. 7.) that, on his being visited by St. Moedoc, bishop of Ferns, he ordered a calf to be killed to serve as part of an entertainment for him. But he afterwards discovered, that St. Meodoc did not eat flesh meat. (*AA. SS. p.* 221.) It is related (*ib.* *p.* 421.) that, on the holy bishop Aedus, son of Brec, arriving at the monastery of Inis-Bofinde in Lough-ree, the abbot St. Rioch, not knowing that the bishop abstained from such meat, prepared a great supper of it for him. St. Brigid used to treat guests and strangers with bacon and other sorts of meat. (*Cogitosus, cap.* 4 and 15.)

(32) The great St. Finnian of Clonard did not scruple to take a cup of beer on festival days. (See *Chap.* x. §. 5.) It is said in the first Life of St. Kieran of Saigir, (*cap.* 33.) that at a dinner, with which he entertained Kieran of Clonmacnois and the two Brendans, the Lord provided them with a sufficiency of wine.

(33) See *Chap.* xvi. §. 8.

(34) In the 17th chapter of the synod called of St. Patrick, after its being stated, that monks are persons who live solitary, without earthly property, under the authority of a bishop or abbot, we find the following words; "Non sunt autem monachi, sed Vac-

troperiti, hoc est, contemptores solliciti ad vitam perfectam in aetate perfecta." The meaning of this passage seems to be, that monks ought to be like the *Vactroperiti*, who despised all worldly things. Ware confesses (*Opusc. S. Patr. p. 117.*) that he did not know, to what language *Vactro* belongs. Dr. Ledwich (*p. 423.*) very wisely pronounces, that it is latinized from the Irish *Vaigneas*, solitude. But, as Ducange observes, *Vactroperiti* is the same as *Bactroperatae*, a name given to certain philosophers from their carrying *bactron*, a staff, and *pera*, a sack or bag. St. Jerome says of them, (*ad. cap. 19 Matth.*) "*quod contemptores seculi, et omnia pro nihilo ducentes, cellarium suum vehabant.*" In the same chapter of the synod is added, "*quia in frigore et nuditate, in fame et siti, in vigiliis et jejuniis vocati sunt.*"

§. v. The Irish monks used to live by their own labour, (35) and accordingly certain times of the day were assigned for their respective manual occupations, except on Sundays and festivals, which were spent in celebrating the divine offices. (36) The intervals between those times of the day were occupied in reciting psalms, anthems, and prayers, or the canonical hours, according to the office prescribed for each day. Having read these parts of the office together, every one was bound to pray privately in his own cell. They assembled again in the beginning of the night and read the first Nocturn, consisting of a certain number of Psalms. The second Nocturn, which contained an equal number, was read at midnight; but about twice that number was read early in the morning. A much greater number was read on Saturday night, coming Sunday, than on any other. St. Columbanus established a distinction between the long and the short nights of the year, as he thought it too severe to make the monks recite as many Psalms in the short ones as in the long ones; and accordingly he directed that, when the nights began to grow long, the number of Psalms should be augmented, and so proportionally

until they reached their greatest length, and vice versa diminished according as the nights became shorter and shorter. (37) On the whole it appears, that our ancient monks used to read a much greater number of Psalms than is usually enjoined by the present discipline of the Catholic church ; yet the canonical hours of the day, Prime, Tierce, Sexte, and None, were much the same as at present ; for, independently of the annexed versicles and prayers, each of them consisted of only three Psalms. (38) Thus the monks were not overloaded with those long offices observed in some continental monasteries, and which scarcely allowed time for other occupations. (39) Consequently, although they were also bound to work more or less every day, except Sundays and holidays, they had leisure enough for study and for attending the instructions of the professors or lecturers, who, as we have seen innumerable instances of, were to be found in every Irish monastery. Time was allowed likewise for that most useful and laudable employment, which they were among the first to introduce into monasteries, viz. that of transcribing books, which was in itself a labour equivalent to any other, and in which many of them used to be engaged. (40)

(35) In the Life of St. Brendan of Clonfert it is laid down as a rule, that a monk ought to be fed and clothed by the labour of his own hands ; “ *Monachum oportet labore manuum suarum vesci et vestiri* ;” and it is stated, that it was thus his 3000 monks maintained themselves. (See Chap. x. §. 7.) A similar rule is found in one of the visions of St. Fursey (See Vit. S. Furs. L. 1. cap. 26) ; “ *Qui vero in monasteriis degunt, cum silentio operantes suum panem manducent.*” St. Moedoc, bishop of Ferns, used to join his monks in their agricultural labours. (See Chap. xiv. §. 10.) The monks, placed by St. Colman at Mayo, earned their bread with their own hands. (Chap. xviii. §. 2.) In a matter so clear I need not quote further instances.

(36) Columbkille, on occasion of the death of a Leinster bi-

shop, named Columbanus, gave orders, that the monks, who were preparing on a working day to set about their daily labours, should rest on that day, saying, that he intended to celebrate the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist. (See *Not.* 182 to *Chap.* XI.)

(37) Rule of St. Columbanus, *ch.* 7. He observes, that it was the practice of some to read the same number of psalms every night, whether long or short, and that between night and morning or matines they used to meet in choir four times; 1. at the beginning of night, 2. at midnight, 3. at the crowing of the cocks, 4. in the morning.

(38) See *ib.*

(39) See, for instance, what Fleury has (*Hist. Eccl. L.* 63. §. 60.) concerning the practices of Clugni.

(40) Columbkil set a glorious example for his followers with regard to this occupation. We find him a short time before his death copying part of the Psalter. (See *Chap.* XII. §. 14.) Adamnan makes mention (*L.* 2. *cap.* 9.) of a book of hymns and other books transcribed by him. If we are to believe O'Donnel, (*L.* 3. *cap.* 42.) he left 300 manuscripts of sacred books in his own handwriting. Baithen, one of his chief disciples and his immediate successor in Hy, having written a copy of the Psalter, brought it to the saint, telling him, that it was necessary to get it revised by one of the brethren. Columbkil answered; "Why do you give us this trouble? for there is no mistake in the whole of it, except that one vowel, *I*, is wanting." This shows, how careful they were in rendering their transcripts correct. There is a proof of the attention paid to correctness also in the request made by Dorbeneus relatively to the transcribing of Adamnan's Life of Columbkil. (See *Not.* 44. to *Chap.* XIX.) In a Life of St. David of Wales, published by Colgan, (at 1 *March*) and written, I believe, in Ireland, as in great part it is taken up with accounts of Irish friends or disciples of that saint, the practice of writing in the monastery is mentioned (*cap.* 12.) as a usual occupation, after the monks had returned from their rural labours, just as was that of reading or praying. How ungrateful are some modern petty foggers in literature to those good and indefatigable monks, who have preserved for us so many monuments of ancient learning, history, poetry, &c.!

§. VI. The discipline observed by our monks was exceedingly strict. Penances were enjoined for the slightest transgressions and omissions relative to morality, observance of the Rule, and decent behaviour. Those penances consisted in the infliction of blows or stripes, fasting on one biscuit and water for two or more days, and in reading an additional number of Psalms. (41) The monks were bound to remain in the community, to which they had been first attached; but the abbot could permit or command them to go elsewhere, if he thought it would tend to their greater proficiency, or to the good of religion. (42) I find in one of the Irish canons the age for making the monastic vow marked at 20 years; (43) but whether that age was generally considered as sufficient, or whether it was required in all our old monasteries, I am not able to determine. The Irish monks, as well as the clergy at large, were distinguished from the laity by the tonsure, of which enough has been said already; (44) but they had no particular habit or form of dress, except such as became grave, sedate, and humble persons. They wore a long tunic made of wool, over which they sometimes threw the cuculla or mantle of the same material. Notwithstanding the variety of monastic rules, that existed in Ireland, there was no difference as to the colour of their garments; for they left the wool in the natural colour which it had received from the sheep. (45) Accordingly some of them were clad in white, some in black; for, besides white sheep, there were also black ones in Ireland; (45*) but there was no obligation as to using any particular colour.

(41) See the *Poenitentialis* or Supplementary Rule of St. Columbanus *passim*. The practice of inflicting stripes prevailed also in some monasteries of the Continent, *ex. c.* at Clugni. (Fleury. *L.* 63. §. 60.)

(42) This is the plain meaning of the 21st chapter or canon of

the synod, called of St. Patrick, although the text is somewhat corrupt. Dr. Ledwich says, (*Antiquities*, &c. p. 406.) that in this canon are noticed the Sarabaites, a sort of independent monks, who lived as they pleased, two or three or a few more together, chiefly in cities and frequented places, under no Rule and without any superior, and whom St. Jerome represents as pests of the Church. (See Bingham, *Origines*, &c. B. vii. ch. 2. sect. 4.) But in the quoted canon there is not a word about them. Did the Doctor mean to state, that there were Sarabaites in Ireland? He refers also to the third canon of the synod of St. Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus. Now in this canon monks are not mentioned at all, the words of it being, "*Clericus vagus non sit in plebe*," the intention of which was, that every clerk should be attached to a church. Among the Irish monks there were none such as the Sarabaites; and we have seen, (above Not. 34.) that they are, without exception, defined *persons living solitary &c. under the authority of a bishop or abbot*. And by the 34th canon of said synod any monk rambling about without permission of his abbot is ordered to be punished; "*Monachus inconsulto abbate vagulus debet vindicari*."

(43) A viginti annis debet unusquisque constringi non *adtestando* sed *voto perficiendo*, ut est illud, *Unusquisque sicut proposuit corde suo faciat, et ut vota mea reddam in conspectu Domini*, quia, &c. (*Synod of St. Patrick*, cap. 17.) This does not mean, that persons under 20 years of age could not be received in the monasteries, and it was quite usual to instruct boys in them; but according to this regulation, although a young man might have an intention, and even declare it, to become a monk, he was not to be solemnly bound to the monastic state, until he had reached the age of twenty. And to this, it seems, is relative the distinction implied in the words *adtestando* and *perficiendo*. That was supposed to be a perfect age, *i. e.* an age, in which a person was able to judge, whether he could fulfil the duties of that state during the remainder of his life. Just before the words quoted above we read, "*in aetate perfecta, hoc est, a viginti annis*," &c.

(44) See *Chup.* xvii. §. 16.

(45) Jocelin writes (*Vit. St. Patr.* cap. 185.): "*Super caetera indumenta (S. Patricius) cuculla candida amiciebatur, ut ipse habitus forma et colore monachus sui speciem, et candidatum hu-*

militatis et innocentiae repraesentare videretur. *Unde et monachi in Hibernia S. Patricii sequendo vestigia per multa temporum volumina habitu simplici contenti erant, quem ovium ministrabat lana, qualibet extrinseca tinctura remota.*" The wool, which he alluded to, was usually white. Thus Adamnan makes mention (*Vit. S. Col. L. 2. c. 44.*) of the white tunic, *candida tunica*, of St. Columba; and in the 2d Life of this saint we read (*cap. 6*) that he instructed in Hy *candidos monachorum greges*. St. Cutlibert of Lindisfarne, who, whether an Irishman or not, followed the Irish practices, used the common sort of dress, but so as that his was not remarkable either for nicety or dirt. And hence it became a rule of his monastery, that no one should wear clothes of a variegated or precious colour, and that the monks should be content chiefly with such as the natural wool of the sheep did furnish. (*Bede, Vit. S. Cuthb. cap. 16.*) Of the cuculla of St. Columba we have seen elsewhere (*Not. 175 to Chap. xi*). Some cucullas were long, some short. That which Jocelin says was worn by St. Patrick, appears to have been long, as covering his other garments; and, as the Irish monks followed his example, we may suppose that theirs were long also.

(45*) Giraldus Cambrensis says, (*Topogr. Hib. Dist. 3. cap. 10.*) that the Irish wore thin woollens, (*laneis enim tenuiter utuntur*) by which, as appears from what follows, he must have meant woollen mantles, and that these were generally black, because the sheep were black in Ireland. Dr. Ledwich, in a chapter on the Ancient Irish dress, full of mistakes and mis-statements, tells us, (*Antiq. p. 339.*) that their reason for using black clothing was, that such was the colour of their bogs, their constant retreats. Now this great antiquary had just before quoted the passage of Giraldus, to which I have referred; but he could not resist his passion for casting some slur on the Irish nation. Giraldus assigns as the cause of that part of their clothing being black, that their sheep were black; but the Doctor brings in the bogs. He might as well have said, that dark colours were preferred at Rome, "*Roma magis fuscis vestitur, Gallia rufis,*" (*Martial, Epig. 129. L. 14.*) because the Romans used to hide themselves in bogs. Where did he find, that they were the constant retreats of the Irish in ancient times? Was it in Borlase's account of the Irish rebellion, to which he refers, an author treating of the civil wars of Ireland in the 17th

century? What an antiquary! Black sheep could not have been as general in Ireland in Giraldus' time as he seems to say, whereas Jocelin, his contemporary, in mentioning the white wool of St. Patrick's cuculla, and his example being followed by the Irish monks in not dyeing the wool for their garments, (see *Not. prec.*) plainly alludes to white wool. Giraldus spoke of only such parts of Ireland as he was better acquainted with.

§. VII. As I have happened to touch upon the mode of dress, I must be here allowed to make a few remarks on the beastly assertion of Ledwich, (46) that not only the Irish laity but even their ecclesiastics of old times were in the habit of not wearing any other dress than a short sort of mantle, that covered the shoulders and reached only to the elbows, leaving the rest of the body absolutely naked. (47) This he founds on a vile mis-interpretation of a canon of the Irish church, by which it was ordered that, if any clerk from the ostiarius (or door-keeper) up to the priest be seen without a tunic, or do not cover the turpitude and nakedness of his belly, he be despised by the laity and separated from the Church. (48) But the object of the canon was, the clergy should not appear dressed in a fashion, which was very general with young and military men, particularly of the lower orders, who below their upper dress, reaching to the elbows or waist, wore a sort of pantaloons covering in one piece the thighs, legs, and feet, but so tight and fitted so close to the limbs as to discover every muscle and motion of the parts, which it covered. (49) Pantaloons of this kind were justly considered as an indecent article of dress, and particularly unbecoming ecclesiastics, on which account the impropriety of it was marked in the strong terms, which occur in the canon, representing it as tantamount to real nakedness. Accordingly it was enacted under the penalty of excommunication, that no clergyman should appear, or be seen by others, except habited, at

least, in a *tunica femoralis*, that is, a coat closed behind and before, which should reach, at least, to the knees, (50) This then is the sum total of what Ledwich has so shamefully misrepresented. (51) I may here observe, that in the canon there is no mention of bishops; for they always appeared in their full dress. The use of those pantaloons even by the laity was disapproved of; but, in spite of the exertions of the clergy and of others, it was retained by the lower orders until a late period. (52)

(46) *Antiq. &c. p. 332.*

(47) He charges the Anglo-Saxons with following the same practice, even down as late as the 12th century; and why? Because William of Malmesbury says, that the English wore clothes, which reached to the middle of the knees, and that their skins were punctured with ornamental figures. The latter part of this passage has nothing to do with the question; but surely, if their clothes reached to their knees, their dress was very different from that, which he attributes to them. Here he introduces one of his favourite nonsensical positions, *viz.* that the Irish were descended from the same stock with the Anglo-Saxons, than which nothing can be more false, unless our antiquary meant to go back as far as the times of Noah. The Irish were derived from a southern source, the Anglo-Saxons from a northern; their languages were essentially different, and so was their mythology; not to mention several other particularities, which it is not my province to inquire into.

(48) This canon is No. 6. of the synod, called of Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus, *ap. Ware, Opusc. S. Patr. p. 42.*) and is thus in the original; "*Quicumque clericus, ab ostiario usque ad sacerdotem, sine tunica visus fuerit, aut turpitudinem ventris et nuditatem non tegat—pariter a laicis contemnentur, et ab Ecclesia separentur.*" In Martene's edition of this canon (*Nov. Thes. Anecd. Tom. 4. col. 5.*) the words, *Patricius ait*, are prefixed to it, and instead of simply *tunica*, we find *tunica femorali*, as also, instead of *aut*, it has *quae*; and after *pariter* it has *condemnabuntur, et ab Ecclesia separabuntur*. But St. Patrick could not have been the author of this canon, whereas it contains

likewise an order for observing the Roman tonsure, an order, which could not have been made until, at the earliest, after the Southern Irish had received the Roman paschal computation and, what usually accompanied it, the Roman tonsure, which they did not prior to about *A. D.* 633. (See *Chap.* xv. §. 6.) Ware was mistaken in assigning this canon, whatever may be thought of the other canons of that synod, to St. Patrick and his companions; and hence he supposed, (*ib.* p. 124.) that the ancient author of the old catalogue of the three classes of Irish saints, (*ap. Usher, Pr.* p. 913, *seqq.*) of which I have elsewhere treated at large, was wrong in stating, that the two first classes used the old Irish tonsure. Now the fact is, that said author was right; and if St. Patrick had commanded the use of the Roman tonsure, the Irish clergy would never have adopted any other. Accordingly it follows, that the canon in question was passed some time in the 7th or 8th century. I say the 8th, because the *MSS.* whence D'Achery and Martene published their collections of Irish canons, were as old as that period.

(49) This sort of dress is described by Giraldus, who (*Topogr. Hib. Dist.* 3. *cap.* 10.) writes; “*Caputiis namque modicis assu-
eti sunt et arctis, trans humeros deorsum, cubito tenus protensis,
variisque colorum generibus panniculorumque plerumque consutis;
sub quibus phalingis laneis quoque palliorum vice utuntur, seu
braccis caligatis, seu caligis braccatis, et his plerumque colore fu-
catis.*” It is not my business to enter into a minute explanation of
this passage, which is not as clear as Dr. Ledwich (*Antiq.* p.
339.) imagined. It would indeed be clear enough, were we
to understand it as he does. For he introduces, besides the ca-
puche, a jacket as placed between it and the *braccae* or panta-
loons. But Giraldus makes no mention of a jacket, unless it be
supposed, that he comprized it under the name of capuche. And
it is probable, that he did; whereas he places immediately be-
neath it either the *phalingae* or the *braccae*. But the Doctor, who
understands by *phalingae* or *fallin* a jacket, makes him say, that
the *braccae* were worn below the *fallin*. Now Giraldus has no
such thing; and his plain meaning, as appears from the particle
seu, is that below what he calls the capuche some wore the *fallin*,
and others the *braccae*. The *fallin* was certainly not a jacket.
According to O'Brien's and Shaw's dictionaries (at *Fallain*) it

was the Irish cloak or mantle, and this corresponds with Giraldus' observing, that they were used *palliorum vice*. Yet I allow, that the poorer Irish wore a jacket; (see Walker's *Histor. Essay on Irish dress*, *pl. 1. fig. 2.*) and it seems that the fallin, which some of them wore, was only a sort of a petticoat. (See *ib. pl. 1. fig. 6.*) Yet Walker is sometimes incorrect on these points; for instance, he translates (*p. 28.*) Giraldus' words, *phalingis laneis* &c. as if he had said, that the Irish, or some of them, wore the fallin, *besides large loose breeches or trowsers*. Instead of *besides* he should have written *or*; nor had he any right to bring in the words *large loose*, particularly as he himself had (*p. 3.*) spoken of the straight *bracca*, that was fitted exceedingly close to the limbs. *Trowsers*, or *trowses* as in Ware's *Antiquities* (*ch. 11.*) and in Harris's additions (*ch. 23.*) is a mis-translation of the *braccis caligatis* of Giraldus, whereas he meant the tight sort of covering used by many of the Irish, and not the wide one called *trowsers* or *trowses*. Lynch (*Cambr. Evers. p. 122.*) gives a very accurate description of it in these words; "Apud Hibernos *bracca indumentum est continuum, non intercisum, succos, tibialia, et foeminalia complectens quo uno ductu quis pedibus, suris, et foemoribus induat. Nec enim fluitans erat (ut ait Tacitus) sed strictum, et singulos artus exprimens*—Inguinem tegunt quidam *braccae, ita tamen ut plane nudare videantur, nisi longiora tunicarum peniculamenta eidem obtenderentur.*" His using *nudare* comes to the same point as the *turpitudinem ventris et nuditatem* of the canon. By *longiora tunicarum peniculamenta* he means the fringes of the short tunic or jacket, that hang down from it over the *bracca*. The reader will form a clear idea of both the jacket and *bracca*, or pantaloons, by looking over the figures of O'More's (of Leix) soldiers in two drawings *ap. Ledwich, ib. at p. 354.*

(50) The *tunica foemoralis* must, as the very name shows, be carefully distinguished from the short tunic or jacket. Figures of persons wearing it may be seen *passim* in Walker's *Histor. &c. ex. c. pl. 1. fig. 1. III. fig. 1. 2. 3. &c.* Ledwich has, (*pl. 20 at p. 282.*) after Walker, from paintings in the abbey of Knockmoy, similar figures, in some of which it comes down to the knees, or even lower, and in others not quite so far.

(51) The practice of the Protestant bishops, who, when ap-

pearing in public in the short dress used in our times, wear a kind of apron, might have taught him to explain the words of the canon in a manner quite different from what he has done.

(52) Lynch says, (*loc cit.*) that the higher orders had ceased before his times to wear them, but that the plebeians could not be persuaded to drop the use of them, until at length some time before the war, that began in 1641, they, partly of their own accord, and partly through the exhortations of the priests, exchanged them for breeches. He thinks, that the reason, for which they had been so much attached to the use of those pantaloons, was, that no sort of covering was so convenient for their running with that innate swiftness of foot, for which they were so remarkable.

§. VIII. In the canon now treated of there is a clause, relative to the wives of clerks, from which it has been inferred, that even our priests were married, at least at the time when said canon was made. After the order for not being seen without the long tunic, and that for using the Roman tonsure, (53) it is enjoined, that the clerk's wife shall not walk out without having her head veiled. (54) Now, as in the text of the canon the name *clerk* comprizes the various orders from the lowest, the *ostiarium*, up to the priests, it may be supposed, that by a *clerk's wife* may be understood one also of a priest. Yet this is not certain; for the name *priest* might have been inserted not inclusively, but exclusively, as if it were said, that all the members of the clerical orders lower than that of the priest should wear the tunic reaching, at least, to the knees. For it may be conjectured, that the priests were not chargeable with following the lay fashion above described, and that only some of the younger clerks, including even deacons, had adopted it. As a priest could not have been in those times under thirty years of age, and as a peculiar appearance of gravity was required from him, it is hard to think, that he would have appeared in such a dress. According to this suppo-

sition, the regulation relative to the wives of clerks did not extend to priests. I have not met with a single instance of a married priest in Ireland until the arrival of the Anglo-Normans and Welsh, among whom such priests were to be found. (55) Yet I allow that the words of the canon seem to favour the marriage of the Irish clergy, at least of the orders inferior to the priesthood, although they do not agree with other documents. The abbot Commian, who was an Irishman, and in all probability lived in the seventh century, has in his penitential (56) a canon condemning the marriage not only of a monk, but likewise of a clerk, after he had devoted himself to God, and sentencing the delinquent to a penance of ten years, three of which on bread and water, besides abstaining from the use of matrimony. (57) There may have been a variety of practices in Ireland relative to this matter, but some other arguments, besides the quoted passage of the sixth Irish canon, would be necessary to prove, that our priests were allowed to have wives. Perhaps it will be said that, although a priest was not permitted to marry after his ordination, he might have been allowed to retain a wife, whom he had before it, as now practised in the Greek church, and that thus this canon may be reconciled with that of Cummián, who mentions *after he had devoted himself to God*. But I find no reasons for admitting, that this practice was ever received in Ireland; where, on the contrary, it seems to have been condemned. (58) This much is certain, that not only in the times of Giraldus Cambrensis, but likewise as far back as those of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, there were no Irish married priests; for, if there were, he would undoubtedly have taken notice of a practice so contrary to the then general discipline of the Western church, as he did of other Irish customs, some of which were of much less importance.

(53) See above *Not.* 48.

(54) “*Et uxor ejus si non velato capite ambulaverit, pariter*” &c. Usher (*Discourse of the Religion, &c. ch. 5.*) take notice of these words, as indicating, that the Irish clergy were not prohibited from marrying. But he gives no other proof, except its being related, that St. Patrick was son of a deacon and grandson of a priest. This, however, does not prove, that the law of ecclesiastical celibacy did not exist in Ireland. He speaks of the clergy in general, but without the least allusion to bishops, as they are not mentioned in the canon. And, as already observed (*Not.* 75 to Chap. xxv.) he had changed his opinion with regard to them. As to what he says about the British clergy, it has nothing to do with the discipline of the Irish church. Toland (*Nazarenus, Letter 2. Sect. 2. §. 12.*) has followed Usher, adding what St. Bernard has about the eight so called archbishops of Armagh, who were married. But, as we have seen, those eight were merely nominal archbishops, as Toland well knew, who accordingly calls them *absolute laymen*. He talks also of the Culdees being married; but he tells us, (*ib. sect. 3.*) that said Culdees were commonly laymen. Whether they were or not, the Irish Colidei or Culdees were out of the question; and Toland observes, (*ib.*) that he confines his discourse to the Scotch Culdees alone, omitting those of Ireland. Yet Dr. Ledwich refers to Toland, as if he had said that the Irish Culdees were married; (see *Not.* II to Chap. xxxi.) and elsewhere he gives us with exaggeration the fable of the marriage of Celsus, archbishop of Armagh. (See *Not.* 75 to Chap. xxv.)

(55) See Chap. xxx. §. 6.

(56) Concerning this Penitential, or *De poenitentiarum mensura*, see Chap. xv. §. 8. and *ib. Not.* 55.

(57) This canon is in *cap. 3.* and in these words; “*Si clericus aut monachus, postquam se De voverit, ad secularem habitum iterum reversus fuerit, aut uxorem duxerit, decem annis poeniteat, tribus ex his in pane et aqua, et nunquam postea in conjugio copuletur. Quod si noluerit, sancta synodus vel sedes apostolica separavit eos a communione et convocationibus Catholicorum.*” (Compare with *Not.* 72. below.) By *clericus* Cumman must have understood only the clerks of the higher or holy orders, whereas those of the four minor ones, as they are now reckoned, were

not prohibited from returning to the world and taking wives, unless we are to suppose, that his rules and those of the Irish church were more severe than those of others. And in fact the words, *postquam Deo voverit*, seem to indicate, that he alluded only to the higher orders.

(58) If we are to judge of the discipline of the Irish church from the treatise of St. Columbanus entitled *Liber de poenitentiarum mensura taxanda*, (*ap. Bibl. Patr. Tom. 12. p. 21. seqq. A. 1677.*) which is different from the penitential for monks annexed to his Rule, (see above *Not. 24* and *41.*) clergymen, whose wives, which they had before their ordination, were still living, were bound to abstain from them after they had taken orders. His 20th canon is as follows; “*Si quis autem clericus, aut diaconus, vel alicujus gradus, qui laicus fuit in seculo cum filiis et filiabus, post conversionem suam iterum suam cognoverit clientelam, et filium iterum de ea genuerit, sciat se adulterium perpetrasse et non minus peccasse quam si ab fuventute sua clericus fuisset, et cum puella aliena peccasset, quia post votum suum peccavit, postquam se Domino consecravit, et votum suum irritum fecit; idcirco similiter septem annis in pane et aqua poeniteat.*” That by *clientelam* he meant a wife is evident from the whole context, and is confirmed by a parallel canon of the penitential annexed to a Missal found at Bobbio (of which hereafter) and much the same as the *Liber de poenitentiarum mensura*, &c. The 12th canon of this penitential has; “*Si quis clericus vel superior gradus, qui uxorem habuit, et post honorem iterum eam cognoverit, sciat se adulterium commisisse. Clericus quatuor, diaconus sex, sacerdos septem, episcopus duodecim, singuli in pane et aqua juxta ordinem suum.*” Mabillon observes (*Not. on this canon*) that by *clericus* perhaps is meant a subdeacon. The rules of this penitential were in all probability founded on the practices of the Irish church.

§. ix. It is very probable, that the Roman liturgy and offices were universally received in Ireland about the end of the 12th century, and there can be no doubt that they were observed in those parts, where the English power prevailed. Giraldus Cambrensis, amidst all his grumbling, does not charge the Irish with differing in this respect from the Eng-

lish or Romans. The exertions of Gillibert, bishop of Limerick, had paved the way for setting aside the old various Irish liturgies, &c.; (59) but St. Malachy's authority and influence contributed much more to the establishment of the Roman practices. (60) Add the seventh canon of the synod of Cashel, held in 1172, in which is an injunction to the same effect. (61) Although this synod was not attended by the prelates of Ulster, yet we may safely infer from their adherence to the principles of St. Malachy, that they approved of that injunction. The apostolic legates, of whom there was a constant succession in Ireland during that century, undoubtedly took care to introduce and enforce the practices of the Roman system. Of the old Irish liturgies and offices no copy is, as far as I know, to be found, except perhaps of the one, and that the most remarkable, which was called *Cursus Scotorum*, or the liturgy &c. of the old Scots or Irish; which was brought to Ireland by St. Patrick, and was the only one observed during the times of the first class of Irish saints, and consequently for above 100 years. (62) I have had occasion to allude to it more than once, and to remark, that after the introduction of new liturgies or masses it was still followed by St. Comgall in Ireland, and by St. Columbanus, in the continent. (63) It has been said, that it was originally the liturgy of St. Mark the Evangelist; that it was used by St. Gregory Nazianzen and other Greeks, afterwards received by Cassian, Honoratus first abbot of Lerins, St. Caesarius, bishop of Arles, and the abbot Porcarius, also by St. Lupus of Troies and St. German of Auxerre, the friends of St. Patrick, who received it from them; and that it was retained by St. Comgall, &c. (64) This *cursus* continued in force, at least with the followers of St. Columbanus, for many years after that saint's death in 615. (65) How long it might have been kept up in Ireland by the monks of St. Comgall's institution, I am not

able to discover. It must not be confounded with the liturgy usually called *Gallicana*. (66)

(59) See *Chap.* xxv. §. 10.

(60) See *Chap.* xxvi. §. 6 and 10, and xxvii. §. 5.

(61) See *Chap.* xxix. §. 3.

(62) See *Chap.* x. §. 4. It is called in the Catalogue of saints (*ap.* Usher, *Pr.* p. 913.) *una missa, una celebratio*.

(63) See *Chap.* 1. §. 5. x. §. 12. xiii. §. 14.

(64) Such is the account given in the tract on the Origin of Ecclesiastical offices, quoted by Usher, (*Pr.* p. 343, 840, and 917.) and published in Spelman's *Councils*, &c. (*Vol.* 1. p. 176, *seqq.*) and in Wilkins' (*Vol.* 4. p. 741, *seqq.*). Although written in a coarse style, and sometimes incorrect, owing perhaps to an unlearned transcriber, and containing various mistakes, some of which have been noticed by Usher, it is, however, worth copying. After giving an account of the *cursum* called the Gallican one, the origin of which he ascribes to St. John the Evangelist, and which, he says, was followed by St. Polycarp, and in the Gauls by St. Irenaeus, &c. the author continues; "Sed beatus Marcus evangelista, sicut refert Josephus et Eusebius in quarto libro, per totam Ægyptum vel Italiam taliter praedicaverunt, sicut unam ecclesiam, ut Omnis sanctus, vel Gloria in excelsis, vel oratione Dominica, et Amen universi tam viri quam foeminae decantarent. Tanta fuit sua praedicatio unita, et postea Evangelium ex ore Petri apostoli edidit. Beatus Hieronymus adfirmat ipsum cursum, qui dicitur praesente tempore Scotorum, beatus Marcus decantavit, et post ipsum Gregorius Nanzenzenus, quem Hieronymus suum magistrum esse adfirmat. Et beatus Basilius, frater ipsius S. Gregorii, Antonius Paulus, Macarius, vel Joannes et Malchus secundum ordinem patrum decantaverunt. Inde postea beatissimus Cassianus, qui Livoronsi (*Linerensi*, or *Lirinensi*, Usher) monasterio beatum Honorium habuit comparem. Et post ipsum beatus Honoratus primus abbas, et S. Caesarius episcopus, qui fuit in Arelata, et beatus Porcarius abbas, qui in ipso monasterio fuit, ipsum cursum decantaverunt; qui beatum Lupum et beatum Germanum monachos in eorum monasterio habuerunt; et ipsi sub norman regulae ipsum cursum ibidem decantaverunt. Et postea in episcopatus cathedra (*episcopatu cathedram*) summi honoris, pro

reverentia sanctitatis eorum, sunt adepti; et postea in Britannii vel Scottiis praedicaverunt, quae Vita beati Germani episcopi Antioderensis et Vita beati Lupi adfirmat. Qui beatum Patricium spiritaliter litteras sacras docuerunt, atque enutrierunt, et ipsum episcopum pro eorum praedicatione (*per eorum praedicationem*, Usher) archiepiscopum in Scottiis ac Britannii posuerunt, qui vixit annos centum quinquaginta tres, et ipsum cursum ibidem decantavit. Et post ipsum beatus Wandilochus senex et beatus Gomogillus (*Comgallus*), qui habuerunt in eorum monasterio monachos circiter tria millia. Inde beatus Wandilochus in praedicationis ministerium abbato (*a beato*, Usher) Gomogillo missus est, et beatus Columbanus partibus Galliarum destinati sunt Luxogilum (*Luxeu*) monasterium; et ibidem ipsum cursum decantaverunt. Et inde postea percerebuit formam (*forma* or *fima*) sanctitatis eorum per universum orbem terrum; et multa coenobia, ex eorum doctrina, tam virorum quam puellarum sunt congregata. Et postea inde sumpsit exordium sub beato Columbano, quod ante beatus Marcus evangelista decantavit. Et si nos non creditis, inquire in Vita beati Columbani et beati Eustasii (*Eustasii*) abbatis, plenius, invenietis, et dicta beati Athleti (*Atthlati* Usher) abbatis Ebovensis (*Attala*, abbot of *Bobbio*)."

From this author's being so particular in tracing the history of the *Cursus Scotorum*, i. e. of the Irish, while he treats very slightly of four other courses or liturgies mentioned by him, it appears very probable, that he was an Irishman, and perhaps one of those, that lived in the continent. But, it may be said, if he were, would he have told us, that St. Patrick lived 153 years? This I suspect to be an erratum of a copyist; and it is plain that in his text, as it now exists, there are several errata. I cannot find, who was the blessed Wandilochus mentioned by him, except that he appears to have been one of the first companions of St. Columbanus, who set out with him from Ireland. They were twelve in all; but their names are not regularly recorded. (See *Not. 5. to Chap. XIII.*) What said author has about that *cursus* having been originally that of St. Mark, or as Mabillon explains it, (*Disquisitio de Cursu Gallicano*, § 1 in his work *De Liturgia Gallicana*) an Alexandrian liturgy, is curious, although I would not pretend to say, that it is certain. There is a liturgy, called of St. Mark, which had been found in Calabria by Sirlet,

and was afterwards printed in Paris. But it is more than doubtful, whether St. Mark had any thing to do with it. (See Bona, *Rer. Liturgic. L. 1. cap. 8.*)

(65) It is plain, that it was used in the life-time of the author of the now quoted tract. Now he lived after the death of Eustasius and Attala, the former of whom succeeded St. Columbanus at Luxeu, and the latter at Bobbio.

(66) We have seen, (*Not. 64.*) that said author makes a distinction between them. We have another proof from its having been remarked, in opposition to St. Columbanus and his Rule, that the Mass, which he celebrated, differed in some points from that, which was usually observed in France in his times, that is, from the old Gallican liturgy, which was not set aside until long after in the reign of Charlemagne. Jonas relates (*Vit. S. Eustasii, cap. 5.*) that Agrestinus, an enemy of Columbanus' Rule, said, "*Columbanum etiam a caeterorum ecclesiasticorum more desciscere, et sacra Missarum solemnia multiplicatione orationum vel collectarum celebrare.*" It is indeed probable, that the Gallican liturgy, strictly so called, (of which see Mabillon *De Liturgia Gallicana*) was introduced into Ireland during the period of the second class of Irish saints. In a Mass celebrated by Columbkil the name of St. Martin was mentioned among the commemorations. (See *Not. 182. to Chap. xi.*) Now as Mabillon observes, (*ib. L. 1. cap. 5.*) his name was commemorated in the Gallican liturgy. Columbkil might have received his Mass from the Britons David, Gildas, and Docus; (see *Chap. x. §. 4.*) and it is said, that the Britons followed the Gallican liturgy. Yet St. Martin's name might have been also in the Mass, which St. German and Lupus delivered to St. Patrick, that is in the *Cursus Scotorum*. Usher (*Pr. p. 343.*) and after him Stillingfleet (*Antiquities of the British churches, ch. 4.*) were much mistaken in the confounding those two liturgies together; for the one, which was delivered by Cassian, German, Lupus &c. was not, as they say, the *Cursus Gallorum*, which was supposed to have been derived from St. John, but the *Cursus Scotorum* attributed to St. Mark.

§. x. There are good reasons for thinking, that the *Cursus Scotorum* is still extant, and that it is the same as the ancient Missal, which Mabillon found

in the monastery of Bobbio, and which, he says, was written about 1000 years before his time. (67) From its antiquity it is clear, that it must have been brought to Bobbio by St. Columbanus or some of his disciples ; and hence arises a strong presumption, that it was the liturgy used by him. (68) The part of the Mass, called the *Canon*, is taken from that of the Roman liturgy, and agrees nearly with it as it is read at present ; yet it has in the article, *Communicantes* after *Cosmae et Damiani*, the names of some other saints, among whom is St. Martin. (69) In this Missal there are few masses for saints. It has those for St. Stephen, the apostles James and John, the Cathedra S. Petri, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, the Invention of the Holy Cross, the nativity of St. John the Baptist and his passion, Saints Peter and Paul, the king Sigismund, (70) St. Martin of Tours, and Michael the archangel. It has three Rogations before the Ascension, and two Masses for the dead, one in general, and another *Missa sacerdotis defuncti*. In it I find no Mass for any Irish saint, nor even mention of any one of them. This is the chief point, which may excite a doubt of its being the same as the *Cursus Scotorum*. Yet this difficulty can be easily removed by observing, that the respect paid by the Irish clergy to St. Patrick prevented them from adding any Mass to those contained in the Missal brought by him, and that they were loth to introduce their own saints into it. On the other hand this Missal is accompanied with a Penitential, (71) and what is exceedingly remarkable, one that agrees in very great part with that of St. Columbanus, called *Liber de poenitentiarum mensura taxanda*, (72) and in some points with the Penitential of Cummin. Accordingly the Penitential joined to the Missal may be supposed to have been intended for the use of the Irish church, and hence it becomes highly probable, that said Missal was also used by it. The antiquity of this Missal appears from the wording of the Creed, which we

find in it ; for, although it is the same in substance as the Roman Creed, commonly called the *Apostles' creed*, yet several words are different. (73) To show, that the copy found at Bobbio was written in Ireland or, at least, by an Irishman, it is asserted, that the characters or letters are exactly of the same kind as those of ancient *MSS.* recognized to have been written by Irishmen. (74) Add, that, as is usual in such old *MSS.*, certain vowels and consonants are frequently interchanged for each other according to a mode peculiar to the Irish ; (75) and that some eminent diplomatists think it probable, that St. Columbanus brought that Missal from his own country. (76) On the whole, although I do not pretend to decide on the matter, I cannot but think that said Missal was the one used by that saint himself, and that the only difference between it and the ancient *Cursus Scotorum* consists in his having added to it the Mass of St. Sigismund in compliance with the custom of the province of Besançon.

(67) He has published it in his *Museum Italicum*, Vol. 1. and, finding it different in various respects from the *Liturgia Gallicana*, and not well knowing what title to give it, has called it *Sacramentarium Gallicanum*. In a margin of the *MS.* is the name of Bertulfus, who in all appearance was the abbot of Bobbio of that name in the seventh century. He thought, that it was a particular Missal for the province of Becançon, in which was Luxeu, particularly as it contains a Mass for St. Sigismund, King of Burgundy. I have had already *Not 157 to Chap. xx1.*) occasion to give a short account of this Missal ; but it is well worth some further observations.

(68) That it was is strenuously maintained by Doctor O'Connor (*Rer. Hibern. Scriptor. Ep. Nuncup.* p. 130. *seqq.*). This did not occur to Mabillon, or at least he does not mention it. He says, that it was not for the use of Bobbio, as there is nothing in it about St. Columbanus or his disciples, or about monastic affairs. But surely it might have been a general Missal for the clergy both secular and regular ; and in such case there was no

necessity for specifying monastic matters, or introducing into it the name of St. Columbanus, &c. Besides, that copy was probably written before the death of St. Columbanus.

(69) In that Missal the Canon appears in only what is called the *Missa cottidiana* (quotidiana) *Romensis*, and hence it appears, that, it was the only one used throughout the year. After *Cosmae et Damiani*, the last names in the Roman article *Communicantes*, come *Hilarii, Martini, Ambrosii, Augustini, Gregorii, Hieronymi, Benedicti*. We have seen, (*Not.* 66.) that St. Martin's name was in the Mass celebrated by Columbkil; and hence why may we not be allowed to conjecture, that his Mass was the same as that of the Missal of Bobbio? But, it will be said, the name of St. Gregory (*i. e.* in all appearance, of Pope Gregory) could not have been in a Mass celebrated by Columbkil, who died before him. Yet this and other names might have been added after Columbkil's death; and in fact such additions were far from being uncommon in ancient Missals. (See Bona, *Rev. Lit.* L. 2. *cap.* 12.) I am sure that the last name in that Mass of Columbkil was *Martini*; for it was upon its being mentioned that he stopped the choir. (*Not.* 182 to *Chap.* XI.) On the whole it is improbable, that Columbkil's Missal was not different from that of Bobbio, without our supposing that he followed (as hinted in *Not.* 66.) the liturgy strictly called the Gallican. Were this as certain as it is probable, it would follow of course, that the Missal of Bobbio contains the *Cursus Scotorum*.

(70) If it was the *Cursus Scotorum*, this Mass might have been added to it by St. Columbanus when at Luxeu.

(71) Mabillon (*Pref.* to the *Missal of Bobbio*) remarks, that this is a very singular circumstance, and almost the only instance to be met with.

(72) This must not, as I have already observed, (above *Not.* 58.) be confounded with the Penitential annexed to the Rule of St. Columbanus. We have seen (*ib.*) an instance of two parallel canons of said Penitentials, differing merely as to the number of years marked for penance. Several more such canons will be found on comparing them, and drawn up nearly in the same words, but sometimes not agreeing with regard to the length of the penitential times. Mabillon was not aware of this concordance; for

he had not collated those penitentials. Ho found a trifling agreement of Canon 47 of that of the Missal with one of the other Penitential of Columbanus, that is, the one joined to the Rule, and two or three rather material parallelisms between it and the Penitential of Cummian, particularly that of Canon 28 of the Missal with one of *cap. 3.* of Cummian, which I have quoted above (*Not. 57.*), and between which and said Canon 28 the only difference is, that in the latter, instead of *Si clericus aut monachus*, we read simply *Si quis clericus*; and instead of *decem* and *tribus* we find *duodecim* and *sex*, whence it appears that the regulation by this canon was not severer than that of Cummian. But, if Mabillon had compared the Penitential, annexed to the Missal with St. Columbanus' tract *De poenitentiarum mensura* &c., he would probably have been led at least to suspect, that said Missal was the one used by the saint himself, and consequently contained the *Cursus Scotorum*.

(73) It runs thus; "*Credo in Deum patrem omnipotentem, creatorem caeli et terrae. Credo in Jesum Christum filium ejus unigenitum, sempiternum, conceptum de Spiritu S. natum ex Maria V. Passum sub Pontio Pilato. Crucifixum, mortuum, et sepultum. Descendit ad inferna. Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis. Ascendit ad caelos. Sedit (sedet) ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis. Inde venturus judicare,*" &c. The remainder exactly as in the Roman creed. I need scarcely tell the reader, that this Creed appears in said Missal at the *Traditio Symboli*, which used to take place on Palm Sunday, for the *Competentes*, but not as forming a part of the Mass; whereas the practice of repeating any Creed in the Mass was not observed in those times in any part of the Western church, except in Spain, where the reading of the Nicene Creed, or rather that of Constantinople, during divine service was introduced in the year 539; and which was imitated by the churches of France and Germany in the time of Charlemagne, but not received at Rome until *A. D.* 1011. (See Bona, *Rer. Liturg. L. 2. cap. 8.* and Bingham, *Origines* &c. *B. x. ch. 4. sect. 17.*)

(74) Dr. O'Connor, *Rer. Hib. Scriptor. Ep. Nuncup. p. 135* and 142.

(75) Dr. O'Connor observes (*ib. p. 136.*) that the vowels *e* and *i*, *o* and *u*, as likewise the consonants *b*, *p*, and *v*, are constantly

interchanged. He had remarked, (p. 134.) that *stillae* and *stilla*, appear in the Missal for *stellae* and *stella*, *Josep* for *Joseph*, *osanna* for *hosanna*, *exorcidio* for *exorcizo*. We have seen above *Not. 73 sedit* for *sedet*.

(76) Dr. O'Connor quotes from the great Benedictine work (*Nouveau Traité de Diplom. Paris, 1757*) the following passage concerning this Missal: "Elle tient peutetre de l'écriture Romaine, usitée dans les Isles Britanniques avant la conversion des Anglois. Dans cette écriture du VI on VII siècle l'e prend la place de l'oe et de l'i, et l'u celle de l'o.—Le savant Benedictin conjecture, que ce Sacramentaire (from Mabillon's *Sacramentarium*, &c.) y fut apporté de Luxeuil par St. Columban. On peut, avec autant de fondement, supposer, que ce Saint l'aura apporté de la Grande Bretagne en Franche Comté." Instead of *Grande Bretagne* they should have written *l'Irlande*; for surely they knew, that St. Columbanus was an Irishman, and went straight from Ireland to France.

§. 11. The Irish church had a very great number of canons peculiar to itself. Of those, which are said to have been enacted by St. Patrick, or by him and his fellow bishops, and many of which were undoubtedly of their formation, I have said something already. (77) They have been published from Spelman and elsewhere, and illustrated with learned notes by Sir James Ware. (78) After St. Patrick's times a multitude of canons was drawn up by various Irish synods, a vast number of which down to the eighth century is still extant; and out of large collections of them the learned Benedictine D'Achery has published very many of them, and others have been added by his confreres Martene and Durand. (79) I have often had occasion to refer to several of those canons; but it will not be amiss to give a general view of some of the more remarkable ones, following, as nearly as I can, the order, in which I find them as published by Ware, D'Achery, &c. In the synod, called of St. Patrick, there is a canon concerning excommunication, in which

the excommunicated person is ordered to be rejected from communion and from table, mass and peace. (80) This canon is illustrated by another of an Irish synod, which distinguished six modes of excommunication, some greater, some lesser. (81) There is a canon prohibiting the rebaptization of persons already baptized, no matter by whom. This was plainly intended against the abettors of Donatist principles; for it assigns as a reason, that the seed is not infected by the iniquity of the sower. (82) It is somewhat singular, that one of the solemn times, besides Easter and Pentecost, for celebrating baptism was in the Irish church the festival of the Epiphany. (83) There is a canon concerning the propriety of taking out the holy sacrifice on Easter night. It states, that it may be taken to the faithful, which, strictly speaking, is not a *taking out*, because they believe in and receive Christ under the one roof of faith. (84) There is a prohibition against a man marrying the widow of his brother, (85) to which was added another condemning not only a man, who should act in that manner, but likewise a woman, that married the brother of her deceased husband, and sentencing the parties to rejection from communion until death. (86) With regard to other matrimonial regulations, I need not repeat here some Irish canons already quoted. (87) It is remarkable, that the system of the jubilee, as established in the Old Testament, was observed to a certain degree in Ireland; but with what modifications it is difficult to determine, although there are various canons relative to it. (88) Some canons enjoin on the clergy not to bring any suits before infidel judges. (89) These must be very ancient, as are also some others, in which infidels are mentioned, such as that which prohibits alms offered by Gentiles to be received into the church. (90) Several canons are relative to the duties of princes, the respect and obedience due to them, and to not speaking ill of good

ones. (91) With regard to sending out of Ireland for decisions on difficult ecclesiastical matters, there is a canon ordering such questions to be referred to the Apostolic see. (92)

(77) *Chap. VIII. §. 3.*

(78) He has them among the *Opuscula S. Patricio adscripta*, and in the following order; 1. *Synodus S. Patricii* consisting of 31 *capitula* or canons. 2. Nine other canons attributed to St. Patrick. 3. *Synodus episcoporum*, id est, *Patricii, Auxilii, Isser-nini*, containing 34 canons. 4. Three canons ascribed to St. Patrick, besides two others not said to have been drawn up by him, one of which is expressly stated to have been made by an Irish synod. 5. Certain rules, called *Proverbs of St. Patrick*, chiefly for the direction of ecclesiastical judges. See also the *concilia M. B. &c. of Spelman, Vol. 1.* and of Wilkins, *Vol. 1.*

(79) The collection by D'Achery is in his *Spicilegium, Tom. 9. p. 1. seqq.* and in De la Barre's edition of it *Tom. 1. p. 492. seqq.* He says in the *Monitum*, that the Irish canons, that follow, were drawn up before the eighth century, and selected by him from a great and ancient MS. collection of canons, consisting of 65 books divided into several *capitula* or articles. Having observed that this collection is valuable, *utpote continuata serie locis S. Scripturae, conciliorum, et SS. Patrum scite admodum ac prudenter insertis aternata*, he apologizes for having omitted a considerable number of said canons; 1. because many similar canons may be found elsewhere; and 2. because he shunned the labour of correcting the manifold mistakes and solecisms, with which the MS. abounded, having been copied by an ignorant person unacquainted with Latin. Accordingly he picked out only the most remarkable canons, particularly such as were decreed in Irish synods. For it is to be recollected, that in said great collection there are several canons copied from those of foreign councils, besides some sentences or passages from Gildas and others. D'Achery followed two MSS. one of the monastery of Corbie, the other of that of St. Germain. He says, that the collection was made about the eighth century (in the margin *Anno circ. 790*) and quotes a passage from Abedoc, the original writer of it, who has in the end; "*Abedoc clericus ipse has collectiones conscripsi*

laciniosae conscriptionis, Haelhucar abbate dispensante, quae de sanctis Scripturis, vel divinis fontibus hic in hoc codice glomeratae sunt ; sive etiam decreta, quae sancti Patres et synodi in diversis gentibus vel linguis construxerunt. Afterwards Martene found a more correct copy of it in the Bigot Library at Rouen, which had belonged to the monastery of Tiscam, and thence inserted in the *Thesaurus novus Anecdotorum* (Tom 4. p. 1. seqq.) a large number of canons, which D'Achery had omitted. He mentions also the names of various synods, by which said canons had been made, such as *Synodus Fervensis, Consulensis, Valensis, Laudatae, Erenensis, Hibernensis, Ancoritana, Luci Victoriae, Sapientia, &c.* Some of these names do not indicate places ; and such of them as do I confess I am not able to explain, excepting the *synodus Hibernensis*, which occurs several times likewise in D'Achery's collection, and which must mean not a single Irish synod, but divers ones called in general *Hibernensis*. Martene mentions also a synod of N. Britain, and gives *Excerpta de libris Romanorum et Francorum*, the *Canones Adomnani* (of which see Chap. XVIII. §. 14.) a *Libellus de Remediis peccatorum* chiefly from Theodore of Canterbury, besides canons from the book of David (of Wales) and some articles from Gildas. In both D'Achery's and Martene's collections there are some canons the same as in Warc's, although now and then with a slight variation of words. In the collection of canons, &c. called *Excerptiones* or *Excerpta* from the *Jus Sacerdotale* of Ecgbert, archbishop of York, who lived in the eighth century, by Hucarius *Levita*, that is, a deacon, there are also some Irish canons, and a *Synodus Hibernensis* is now and then quoted. This collection is in Wilkin's *Councils &c. Vol. 1. p. 101. seqq.* Hucarius was perhaps the same as Haelhucar above mentioned, who was fond of collecting canons, and might have, when only a deacon, drawn up those *Excerptiones*, before he directed, when abbot, Abedoc in compiling the great collection in 65 books. It is not to be wondered at, that the Irish church had a great number of canons ; for one of her ancient decrees lays down, that councils be held twice in the year ; " Sancta synodus bis in anno decrevit habere concilia." (*Ap. Usher, Discourse on the Religion, &c. ch. 6.*) Perhaps by *Sancta synodus* was meant the council of Nice, which, as well as other councils, had established that rule as to provincial synods ; but

from its being repeated in our canons we may suppose, that it was observed in Ireland.

(80) It is at *cap. 4.* in these words; *Audi Dominum dicentem : Si tibi non audierit, sit tibi velut gentilis et publicanus. Non maledices, sed repelles excommunicatum a communione et mensa, et missa, et pace. Et si haereticus est, post unam correptionem de-vita.*

(81) D'Achery has from *L. 39. cap. 1.* “Synodus Hibernensis sex modos dicit, a celebratione, a communicatione Missae, a cohabitatione, a benedictione, a colloquio pacifico, a comiteatu.” (Compare with *Not. 32. to Chap. XIII.*)

(82) This canon is in *cap. 7.* of the synod of St. Patrick; “Statuunt ne rebaptizati (sint) qui Symboli traditione (traditionem) a quocunque acceperunt, quia non inficit semen seminantis iniquitas.” It mentions the delivery of the Creed as the usual preliminary to baptism. It is by no means relative to the question of the validity of baptism administered by lay persons, as Ledwich supposes, *Antiqu. &c. p. 423.* But enough has been said already (*Not. 101. to Chap. xxiv.*) concerning his unlearned effusions on this point.

(83) In *cap. 19.* of said synod we read; “Octavo die Catechumeni sunt; postea solemnitatibus Domini baptizantur, id est, Pascha, Pentecoste, et *Epiphania.*” Without entering into the Practice of some Eastern churches, and that, although disapproved of, followed in Spain and Sicily, it is known that Epiphany was a solemn time of baptism down to a rather late period in the African churches, as appears from Victor Uticensis referred to by Bingham; (*Origines, &c. B. xi. ch. 6. sect. 7.*) to whom I may add, that, as Tillemont relates, (*Mémoires, &c. Tom. xvi. p. 556.*) it was on the night of Epiphany *A. D. 484*, that St. Eugenius, bishop of Carthage, cured one Felix of blindness at the time of blessing the baptismal font for those that were to be baptized. It is not improbable, that the Irish founded their practice on some African canons.

(84) It is in *cap. 13.* of the said synod, and entitled *De Sacrificio*; “In nocte Paschae si fas est ferre foras. *Non foras fertur, sed fidelibus deferatur. Quid aliud significat quod in una domo sumitur agnus, quam sub uno fidei culmine creditur et communicatur Christus?*”

(85) It is in *cap. 25.* of the same synod, and has been quoted above *Not. 51.* to *Chap. xxvi.*

(86) This canon is among what are called *Judicia Compendia ap. Martene (loc. cit. col. 19.)* and is thus expressed ; “ Vir si nupserit duabus sororibus, vel mulier duobus fratribus, abjiciantur a communione usque ad mortem ; verum tamen in exitu vitæ propter misericordiam, si in columes permiserint hujus conjunctionis vincula dissolvere, poenitentiam sequantur. Quod si defecerint, in talibus nuptiis difficilis est poenitentia permanentibus.”

(87) See, for instance, *Notes 96 and 97.* to *Chap. xxiv.*

(88) One of them is in *cap. 30.* of the Synod of St. Patrick in these words ; “ Nunquam vetitus (vetitum) licet, verum observandæ sunt leges Jubilæi, hoc est, quinquaginta anni, ut non adfirmantur incerta veterato temporis.” Ware has another (*Opuse. S. Patr. p. 118.*) from an Irish synod, entitled *De his quæ non eludit Jubilæus*, which enters into distinctions concerning the sorts of property comprized or not under the law of the Jubilee. D'Achery has from *Lib. 35.* some canons relative to it, one of which (*cap. 8.*) is thus headed ; “ De eo quod observandæ sunt leges Jubilæi etiam in novo” (Testamento). This system must have been introduced and kept up with the concurrence and approbation of the civil power, as indeed is plain from the very terms of some of those canons. It seems to have originated in the mode of tenure, by which the Irish tribes and septs held their lands.

(89) The first of the nine canons attributed to St. Patrick (see above *Not. 78.*) is entitled “ De judicio clericorum, ut non sit apud iniquos, aut apud infideles ;” then it has, “ Omnis mundialis sapiens, si (etsi) sapiens sit, non judicet judicia Ecclesiæ.” Ware (*loc. cit. p. 119.*) quotes another to the same purpose ; “ Clericus, qui causam suam, sive justam sive injustam, ad judicium alterius fidei judicis provocat, excommunicetur.

(90) *Can. 13.* of the synod of Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserinus.

(91) See the 2d and 3d of the nine canons above mentioned, and the rules about princes *ap. D'Achery* from *Lib. 24.* (in which passages are quoted, in the name of St. Patrick as the author, from *De abusioibus seculi*) and from *Lib. 36,* some of which, however, relate to ecclesiastical chiefs.

(92) It is the 6th of the nine canons *ap.* Ware, and in *L.* 20. *cap. 5. ap.* Dachery, premised by the words, *Patricius ait.* Having quoted it and made some remarks on it already, (*Not.* 35. to *Chap.* xv.) I need not repeat it here.

§. 12. The marriage of a nun was considered as adultery, and punished by excommunication. But, should she repent, and quit that state, she was to do penance, and not to live near the man, whom she had married. (93) There is a caution given not to break ecclesiastical unity, which is recommended by the example of the first believers. (94) Next after this is a canon declaring the punishment of a person, who had robbed a church, which must have been enacted in one of those mixed assemblies so common in Ireland, in which princes and chieftains used to sit jointly with the clergy. It orders, that his hand or foot be cut off, or that he be thrown into prison, or exiled and make double restitution, and swear not to return until he has fulfilled his penance. (95) I find a canon, purely ecclesiastical, whereby three years penance is imposed for such a theft, and in case of a murder in a holy place seven years, both penances to be performed in a state of pilgrimage. (96) Penances were also enjoined, but not so severe, for every common theft; (97) and there was a general order to drive thieves, robbers, and plunderers out of the Church. (98) The age for a priest is fixed at his thirtieth year, and for a bishop at the thirtieth, fortieth, or fiftieth. But if a man had been married until he was thirty years old, and wished to become a clergyman, he was bound to remain a subdeacon for five years, and a deacon for five years more, after which he might be ordained a priest in his fortieth year. (99) A bishop was to be consecrated with the consent of the clergy, laity (of the diocese), and of the bishops of the whole province, chiefly the metropolitan. (100) No bishop was allowed to appoint his successor; but the

appointment was to take place after his death. Yet he might, with the consent of a synod and the approbation of the people of the district, ordain, towards the end of his life, a bishop to succeed him. (101) With regard to the Divine service, a canon states, that the Church offers to God, 1. for itself; 2. for the commemoration of Jesus Christ; and 3. for the departed souls. (102) This last oblation is explained in another, according to which the Church offers for the souls of the deceased in four ways; for the very good the oblations are mere thanksgivings; for the very bad they are consolations of the living; for those not very good they are made for the obtaining of full remission; and for such as were not very bad, that their punishment may be rendered more tolerable. (103) By *punishment*, or, as the original has, *damnatio*, we must understand not eternal punishment or damnation, but the purgatorial sufferings; whereas, besides the universal rule of not offering for souls, of whose being in hell no doubt was entertained, there is an Irish canon directing, that the holy sacrifice be not offered for such deceased persons as were guilty of the *sin unto death*, that is, as most probably meant by it, final impenitence. (104) There is a very severe canon against persons, who falsely accuse others, depriving them of communion until the end of their lives. (105)

(93) 'The 17th canon of the synod of Patrick, Auxilius, &c. is as follows; *Virgo, quae voverit Deo, permanet casta, et postea nupserit carnalem sponsum, excommunicationis sit donec convertatur. Si conversa fuerit, et dimiserit adulterium, poenitentiam agat, et postea non in una domo nec in una villa habitent.*"

(94) The first of the three particular canons ascribed to St. Patrick (see above *Not.* 78) is entitled *De unitate subditorum*, after which we read; "*Quis ergo audet scindere unitatem, quam nemo hominum solvere vel reprehendere potest?* Then comes a quotation from *Acts* iv. 32. *seqq.* Instead of *Quis ergo* that sentence begins *ap.* Martene (from *L.* 21. *cap.* 10.) with *Synodus di-*

cit; *Si quis autem*, &c. and ends with *anathema sit*, thus forming a canon.

(95) “ Qui furatus fuerit pecuniam ab ecclesia sancta, ubi martyres et corpora sanctorum dormiunt, illius manus vel pes circumcidatur, aut in carcerem mittatur, aut in peregrinationem ejiciatur et restituat duplum; et jurabit quod non revertetur donec impleverit poenitentiam.” This canon, although attributed to St. Patrick, could not have been made in his time, as the Irish Christian princes were not as yet powerful enough to establish such a law. There is a similar canon, and called an Irish one, in *No.* 74 of the *Excerptiones* from the *Jus Sacerdotale* of Ecgbert, and another in D’Achery’s collection from *L.* 28. *cap.* 6.

(96) It is in D’Achery from *L.* 42. *cap.* 15. “ Quicumque reliquias episcoporum vel martyrum (alluding to holy places) homicidio violaverit, septem annis peregrinus poeniteat; si vero furto, tribus annis.” After this, rules are laid down for cleansing the pollutions of such places.

(97) See canon 15. of the synod of Patrick, Auxilius, &c.

(98) “ Synodus; Fures, et latrones, et raptores de Ecclesia ejiciendi sunt;” *ap.* D’Achery from *L.* 41. *cap.* 3.

(99) *L.* 1. *cap.* 9. *ap.* D’Achery.

(100) The canon on this point (*ap.* D’Achery *ib.* *cap.* 5.) was originally of a council of Carthage, as observed by D’Achery. Considered relatively to Ireland, it must be understood of the bishops of regular sees; for, as has been often observed already (*ex. c.* *Chap.* xxiv. §. 12. and *Not.* 104. to *Chap.* xi.) the Irish church had *Chorepiscopi*, whose appointment and consecration did not require all that apparatus. We have also seen, that those *Chorepiscopi* used to be consecrated by one bishop; but such was not the case with regard to the bishops of established sees. whereas for their consecration three bishops, at least, were required in Ireland as well as elsewhere. Thus we read in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, (*L.* 2 *c.* 43.) that, when consecrating Carellus for the church of Tannacha in Hua-nonella (Tirellil, Sligo), he was assisted by the bishops Bron and Bitaeus *juxta Ecclesiae consuetudinem*. Whether such consecration took place or not, is of little consequence; but the pointing to the *custom of the Church* adds to the proofs of the rule of consecration by no fewer than three bishops having been observed by the Irish church.

(101) D'Achery has (*ib. cap. 17.*); "Synodus ait; Nullus episcopus successorem in vita sua faciat, sed post obitum ejus boni bonum eligant. Item, Synodus definivit episcopum ordinare successorem in exitu vitæ consensu synodi et regionis ipsius sententia, ne irritum fiat."

(102) This canon is from *L. 2. cap. 9. ap. D'Achery*; "Synodus; Nunc Ecclesia multis modis offert Deo; primo pro seipsa; secundo pro commemoratione Jesu Christi, qui dixit, *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem*; tertio pro animabus defunctis."

(103) It is in *cap. 20. ib.* thus expressed; "Synodus ait; Quatuor modis offert Ecclesia pro animabus defunctorum. Pro valde bonis gratiarum actiones sunt, in quibus nihil oblatio habet quod debeat; pro valde malis consolationes vivorum; pro non valde bonis, ut plena remissio fiat; pro non valde malis, ut tolerabilior fiat damnatio ista." Nothing can be more contrary than this canon to Usher's system relative to the practice and doctrine of the Irish church in praying for the dead. (See *Not. 157. to Chap. XXI.*)

(104) *Cap. 12.* among the thirty-one of the synod of St. Patrick (see above *Not. 78.*). I have elsewhere (*Not. 157. to Chap. XXI.*) referred to this canon, the original of which is headed, *De oblatione pro defunctis*; then follows; "Audi Apostolum dicentem; *Est autem peccatum ad mortem, non pro illo dico ut roget quis. Et Dominus, Nolite donare sanctum canibus. Qui enim in vita sua sacrificium non merebitur accipere, quomodo post mortem illi poterit adjuvare.*" The unfortunate persons here alluded to were such as led notoriously bad lives, and could not be brought to show even symptoms of repentance. They were different from those, called *very bad* in the canon, (*Not. prec.*) who might have been so without publicly appearing as hardened obstinate sinners.

(105) "Synodus; Qui falso accusant *fratres*, usque ad exitum vitæ non communicent. (*Ap. D'Achery from L. 16. cap. 13.*) From the word, *fratres*, it might seem, that this canon was relative to the brethren in monasteries; but it may be well understood of persons in general bearing false witness against their neighbours.

§. XIII. I find a singular canon declaring that an

oath of a son or daughter, unknown to the father, one of a monk without the knowledge of his abbot, and that of a boy, are void. (106) Among many regulations relative to Church property there is, alluding to pious donations, particularly, it seems, made by will, one, in which it is ordered, that sons, or brothers, or relatives be not defrauded of their due, and that the church do receive only a certain portion, called the portion of God, leaving to the rightful heirs what they are justly entitled to. (107) A spirit of disinterestedness was required from the clergy; and accordingly there was a canon enjoining, that the superfluous of a priest, or whatever he possessed beyond his wants, should be given to the church. (108) This was intended partly for the use of the church itself, such as for repairs, necessary expenses, &c. and partly for the poor, in the same manner as the usual offerings of the faithful, concerning which there are two canons; one empowering the bishop to divide them between the church and the poor, and another condemning a clergyman, who should seize upon said offerings, to be removed from the church. (109) We find some canons relative to the ecclesiastical lands or tracts, called *Terminus*, and their boundaries or marks. “Let the Terminus of a holy place have marks about it—Wherever you find the sign of the Cross of Christ, do not do any injury.—Three persons consecrate a Terminus of a holy place, a king, a bishop, and the people.” (110) There are several canons respecting succession to property, wills, debts, pledges, bargains, &c. which were evidently drawn up in those mixed assemblies, above mentioned, of clergymen and laymen. (111) Among the Irish canons there are two taken from the council of Gangra in Paphlagonia, which was held against the heretic Eustathius and his followers, who, besides other errors, condemned matrimony, and taught that married persons could not be saved. By these canons persons,

observing virginity to please the Lord, are ordered under pain of anathema not to insult married persons, nor to express an abhorrence of marriage or of persons engaged in it. (112) They are by no means relative to the question of marriage of the clergy, as a certain author, who was always raving about matrimony, strives to insinuate. (113) But there is a canon, whereby clerks are prohibited to frequent women, not their relations, and are ordered to live with no other females than their mother, or aunt, or sister, or niece, so as to guard against even the suspicion of scandal. (114) In other respects the clergy were bound to observe a very grave and strict line of conduct. For instance, they were not allowed to be spectators of games or sports under pain of degradation; (115) nor, under the same penalty, to walk about in fairs or markets, unless they wanted to buy something. (116) And a clergyman, singing at a banquet, and not edifying religion, was liable to an excommunication; as was also a swearing clergyman. (117) There are some very remarkable canons relative to matrimonial continence, prescribing abstinence from the exercise of conjugal rights at certain stated times, among which are mentioned the three lents or chief fasting seasons of the year. (118) I shall quote only one canon more, which is that against leaders of barbarians, that is of invaders, plunderers, and destroyers. Such leaders are condemned to penance of fourteen years. (119)

(106) D'Achery has it from *L. 34. cap. 5.* “*Synodus Hibernensis; Juramentum filii aut filiae nesciente patre, juramentum monachi nesciente abbate, juramentum pueri, irrita sunt.*”

(107) This canon is from *L. 41. cap. 6.* in these words; “*Synodus; Nullum oportet fraudare filios, aut fratres, aut propinquos. Item, Ecclesia nonnisi partem Dei accipiat: cum enim heres mundi venerit, retrahet ea quae mundi sunt.*” According to a fixed rule (*L. 2. c. 14.*) a certain part of the property of a deceased person was reserved for the priests, that is, for the use of

the church, including their maintainance, and for his funeral obsequies, beyond which, in virtue of this canon, the church was not allowed to exact or receive any more. According to the sixth decree of the council of Cashel it was the third part of a man's moveable goods. (See *Chap. xxix. §. 3.*)

(108) *Ap. D'Achery, L. 2. cap. 20.* "Synodus decrevit, ut sacerdos omne, quod superfluum habet, det in Ecclesia, et ut quantum Ecclesiae dimiserit tantum Ecclesia demat de superfluis ejus."

(109) The 25th canon of the synod of Patrick, *Auxilius. &c.* is as follows; "Si quae a religiosis hominibus donata fuerint diebus illis, quibus pontifex in singulis habitaverit ecclesiis, pontificalia dona, sicut mos antiquus, ordinare, ad episcopum pertinebunt, sive ad usum necessarium, sive egentibus distribuendum, prout ipse episcopus moderabit." Then comes canon 26. *ib.* "Si quis vero clericus contraverit, et dona invadere fuerit deprehensus, ut turpis lucri cupidus ab Ecclesia sequestretur."

(110) D'Achery has from *L. 42. cap. 11.* "Synodus Hibernensis; Terminus sancti loci habeat signa circa se---Synodus dicit; Ubi-cumque inveneritis signum Crucis Christi, ne laeseritis—Tres personae consecrant terminum loci sancti; rex, episcopus, populus." Of what was meant by *Terminus* in the ecclesiastical sense I have treated already (*Not. 63 to Chap. xxvi.*). It appears, that crosses used to be erected in such holy places, and that this might have been done by either a king, a bishop, or by the people. For it is more probable, that this is the meaning of the canon, than that all the three parties were to concur in rendering a place a *Terminus*.

(111) See *ap. D'Achery from Libb. 31, 32, 33.*

(112) D'Achery has these canons from *L. 43. cap. 2.* "Synodus; Si quis ex his, qui virginitatem propter Dominum servant, extollitur adversus conjugatos, anathema sit.—Item, Unusquisque, qui virginitatem custodit, propter Dominum faciat, non propter execrationem conjugii; qui enim virum fidelem et religiosam foeminam detestatur, aut culpabiles aestimat, anathema sit." These canons were copied from the ninth and tenth of the council of Gangra, and also from the first.

(113) The reader will easily perceive, that I allude to Dr. Ledwich, who touching (*Antiq. &c. p. 325.*) on the former of these

canons introduces the Trullan canons, &c. concerning the marriage of the clergy. Now neither in that canon, nor in the one annexed to it, is there a word relative to the clergy; but this antiquary, with his usual blundering logic, infers that, because the Irish church, following the council of Gangra, condemned the Eustathian impiety, it therefore authorized the marriage of clergymen! He boasts (*ib. p. 422.*) of having perused with care all our printed canons, and explained many of them; but from the specimen, which he has given us, (*ib. seqq.*) a reader will be able to judge of his vaunted explanations.

(114) Martene has this canon from *Lib. 9.* “ Clerici frequentandi extraneas mulieres non habeant potestatem, sed cum matre, vel thia filia, sorore, nepte, tantum vivant, de quibus omnibus nefas est aliquid quam natura constituit suspicari.” The words, *thia filia*, if, as it seems, they are to go together, must mean an unmarried aunt; for *thia* signifies an aunt. (See Ducange at *Thia*.) But, if they be understood of two distinct persons, and that *filia* mean *daughter*, a case is supposed of a clerk having been married before he became an ecclesiastic, and of his having a daughter, that survived her mother. Be this as it may, the canon is plainly contrary to the opinion, that the Irish clergy were, at least in general, allowed in ancient times to have wives. (Compare with §. 8. above.)

(115) “ Omnis clericus, qui ludum spectare desiderat, degradetur.” *Ap. D'Achery*, from *L. 39. cap. 14.*

(116) Martene has from *Lib. 9.* “ Clericus, qui non promendo aliquid in nundinis vel in foro deambulat, ab officio suo degradetur.” I suspect, that by *degradetur* is to be understood in these two canons not total degradation from the clerical order, but merely a temporary suspension.

(117) We read *ap. Martene ib.* “ Clericus inter epulas cantans, fidem non aedificans, sed auribus tantum pruriens, excommunicus sit—Clericus jurans excommunicandus est.” The punishment in the former case probably refers to one of those minor sorts of excommunication mentioned above §. 11. and *Not. 81.*

(118) D'Achery has the following regulations from *L. 44. cap. 11.* “ Synodus Hibernensis; In tribus quadragesimis anni, et in Dominica die, et in feriis quartis et in sextis feriis, conjuges continere se debent.—Item, in omnibus solemnitatibus, et in illis

diebus, quibus uxor praegnans, hoc est, a die quo filius in utero ejus motum fecerit, usque ad partus sui diem ---Item, a partu per 36 dies si masculus, si vero filia 46 dies.---Item, habitantibus illis in habitu religioso copulari non permittitur." Some have supposed, that this canon or canons, down to the last *Item*, belonged to the council of Eliberis or Elvira in Spain, because it appeared in some collections as from *Concilium Helilernense*. But Baluze in his Notes to Regino observes, (*Not. at No. 328. Lib. 1. p. 571.*) that in two very old MSS. the synod, in which said rules were established, is called *Ebernensia*. He refers also to D'Achery's *Synodus Hibernensis*, and concludes that it is a mistake to attribute them to the council of Eliberis. He remarks also, that some other canons, attributed to that council by Burchard and Ivo, are in the Irish collection of Corbie. As to the three lents, D'Achery thought, that, besides the great lent before Easter, the other two were the one after Pentecost and that prior to Christmas, such as are mentioned in a Capitulary of Charlemagne. But, as there were different usages with regard to fasting seasons in various churches, it is not easy to determine, which, independently of the great lent, were the two other ones of the Irish. Some churches had four lents, one for each of the four seasons of the year; others likewise had four, but not corresponding with the different seasons. Some had stated fasts for almost every month in the year, distinct from the usual weekly fasts. (See more in Bingham's *Origines*, &c. B. xxi. ch. 2.) Yet I believe, that one of our Irish lents was that kept before Christmas, which, according to the first council of Macon, held in 581, began after St. Martin's day, and continued until Christmas day, but so as that fasting was required only on three days in each week, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, to be observed according to the rules of the real or great lent. This was in fact a mere addition of Monday to the usual fasts of the week. Other councils shortened still more this sort of lent by reducing it to the last week before Christmas. (See Bingham, *ib. sect. 4.*) It is likewise to be recollected, that the word *quadragessimis* in the above Irish canon is not to be understood of periods of precisely 40 days, but as indicating certain fixed times for fasting, whether of greater or lesser duration, according to an acceptation quite usual in consequence of the Christian fasts having been established in imitation of the 40 days fast of our Saviour.

Even the great lent before Easter, did not in those days consist, at least in Ireland, (see above §. 4.) of that number of days. The last of those regulations seems to suppose, that the man and wife had, although living together, devoted themselves to the observance of some monastic rules, in which case they were to conduct themselves as if they lived separately in monasteries. Usher refers (*Discourse*, §c. *ch.* 6.) to the first part of said canon, and might have learned from it, with what attention the Irish church looked to the purity of the nuptial bed, without quibbling, as he does elsewhere, concerning its not having considered marriage a sacrament. The mighty argument, which he adduces (*ib.* *ch.* 5.) for his position, is a scrap from Sedulius the commentator, which he does not give entire. Sedulius makes the following observation on some words of St. Paul, *Romans* i. 11. 12; “*Quod autem dicit, ut aliquod tradam vobis donum spirituale, videtur indicare, esse aliquid, quod donum quidem sit, non tamen spirituale, ut nuptiae, divitiae, fortitudo corporis, &c.*” Hence Usher concluded, that Sedulius did not look upon marriage as a sacrament. Now it is quite plain, that in this passage marriage is alluded to incidentally, and merely in a temporal or worldly sense. But why did not Usher, who had read all Sedulius’s commentaries, quote some part of them, in which marriage is expressly treated of? He took care to conceal from the reader the following words on what St. Paul says of marriage, *Ephes.* v, 32. according to the Latin text, *Sacramentum hoc magnum est*, on which Sedulius has this observation; “*Sunt enim alia minora sacramenta.*” Hence it is clear, that, as he explained *great sacrament* by stating, that there are lesser sacraments, Sedulius reckoned marriage among the sacraments.

(119) *Ap.* D’Achery from *L.* 57. *cap.* 2. “*Synodus Hibernensis ait; Qui praebet ducatum barbaris, 14 annis poeniteat. Barbarus, id est, alienus. Quis est alienus, nisi qui more crudeli et immani cunctos prosternit?*” This canon may be understood of princes or chieftains, who without provocation attacked, robbed, and murdered their neighbours; or persons that served as guides to marauding parties of strangers.

§. xiv. Prior to those of the twelfth century we find very few monuments of ecclesiastical architec-

ture in Ireland. This is not to be wondered at, because the general fashion of the country was to erect their buildings of wood, a fashion, which in great part continues to this day in several parts of Europe. As consequently their churches also were usually built of wood, it cannot be expected that there should be any remains of such churches at present. Several of them, although constructed of such slight materials, might have been elegant and splendid, and in a good stile of architecture. The description of the church of Kildare, which seems to have been entirely of wood, by Cogitosus, who lived at the latest in the early part of the ninth century, (120) shows, that it was an ample and neat structure. He says, that it was large and very lofty, and adorned with paintings. It contained three large oratories, divided from each other by wooden partitions, (121) all under one roof. One of these partitions was ornamented, painted with images, and covered with linen cloths, and being in the eastern part of the church reached across from one of its outside walls to the other. By this partition he meant the inclosure of the sanctuary, at each extremity of which he tells us that there was a door. By the one at the right the bishop, with his chapter, and the persons appointed to assist at the holy administration, used to enter the sanctuary and proceed to the altar, to immolate the holy sacrifice of the Lord; and that at the left was only for the abbess and her nuns to come in, that they might enjoy the banquet of the body and blood of Jesus Christ. (122) The remainder or great body of the church was divided into two equal parts by a partition running from the sanctuary down to the front wall. The right one was for the male part of the congregation, including also priests (such, it seems, as were not actually officiating); and the left one for the females. Each division had a large door, not in the front wall of the church, but in the right and left sides. Thus there

were three oratories, as above mentioned, viz. these two parts besides the sanctuary. In this church were many windows; but its chief ornament consisted of the shrines of St. Brigid and St. Conlaeth, containing their bodies at each side of the altar, and adorned with wrought gold and silver, likewise with gems and precious stones, and with gold and silver crowns hanging over them. It is exceedingly probable, that the custom of drawing partitions in the churches, between the places assigned for the respective sexes, was nearly general in Ireland, conformably to the almost universal practice in ancient times of marking distinct and separate places for them. (122*)

(120) See *Not.* 18 to *Chap.* VIII. This description is in *Vit. S. Brigid. cap.* 35.

(121) *Divisa parietibus tabulatis.*

(122) Hence it appears, that the nunnery adjoined the church on the left, while the habitation of the bishop and his clergy was close to it on the right. (Compare with *Not.* 141. to *Chap.* VIII.)

(122*) See Bingham, *Origines, &c.* B. VIII. ch. 5. sect. 6.

§. xv. In building their churches of wood the Irish had no peculiar motive imaginable, except that they were very little in the habit of erecting any sort of edifices of stone or other materials. Accordingly nothing can be more ludicrous than the assertion of a silly presuming author, that “the doctrine and discipline of the Irish church were averse from stone fabricks.” (123) Even before the twelfth century some stone churches had been erected in Ireland, although it was not until that period that this fashion was introduced into some of the northern parts. (124) It has been said, that the round towers, which are almost peculiar to Ireland, were intended as steeples or belfries to churches. (125) It may be, and indeed seems certain, that some of them have been, although very unfit for the purpose, applied to that use, after their original destination had been forgotten. But

it is self evident, that they were not erected with that intention. Their construction was not adapted to it ; (126) and, as far as can be discovered, the buildings intended for belfries in Ireland were square. Of this kind is that annexed to Cormac's Chapel on the Rock of Cashel ; and it is remarkable, that not far from it there is a Round tower, which, we may be sure, existed at the time when that Chapel was built, and which must not have been considered as a belfrey, whereas in such case there would have been no necessity for erecting the square one near the Chapel. Yet, as I have said above, bells seem to have been placed in some of them, which accordingly got the name of *Clotheach*, that is the *house of the bell*. (127) But, although originally not belfries, they were, at least in the times of Giraldus Cambrensis, looked upon as ecclesiastical edifices, that is, as applied to some religious purpose. (128) An ingenious conjecture on this subject is, that they were built for and inhabited by anchorets of the description of those, who were called *Inclusi*, and who used to shut themselves up all alone in certain places. (29) But, although some anchorets might have availed themselves of them as habitations, for which they were fit enough, yet it is hard to believe, that such lofty buildings, as many of them are, were originally intended for that purpose and for the use of single persons. Where was the necessity of the various stages or floors, into which they were divided, if they were to be inhabited by only one man ? Or why should they be all furnished with four windows at the top, opposite to one another, and facing the four quarters of the heavens ? Of what use could these be to an anchoret ? (130) I find another account of the use, to which they were applied, and which seems as probable as that now spoken of. It is, that they served as prisons for penitents, who used to be placed first on the uppermost floor, and after spending there a certain space of time in pro-

portion to their crimes, were allowed to descend to the next floor, and so on gradually, until they came down to the door and received absolution. (131) In this supposition the various stories or floors would have answered very well for accomodating the divers ranks of penitents with habitations.

(123) Ledwich, *Antiq. &c. p.* 141. The arguments, which he adduces to uphold this trash, are as nonsensical as his position. "Celsus," he says, "objects to the first believers, that they had no dedications or consecrations of altars, statues, or churches. Four centuries had almost elapsed before the usage here noticed began." Here in the first place he bungles every thing. Neither Celsus nor any other pagan had charged the Christians with not having churches, but with not having temples. Did not this wretched reasoner know, how learned men, and among others Bingham (*loc. cit. ch. 6. sect. 13.*) have explained in what sense Origen and other apologists acknowledged that they had no altars, while in another they held that they had, and even used the name *altar*? As to the *usage* he speaks of, viz. of dedications or consecrations, surely many churches were dedicated, and with great solemnity, during the reign of Constantine the great, long before the close of the fourth century. But what have these things to do with the reason why churches were built of wood rather than of stone? Might not wooden churches have been dedicated as well as stone ones? Ledwich meant to insinuate, that churches used not to be dedicated in Ireland. Now there are innumerable instances to the contrary, and we have already met with many of them. The 23d canon of the synod of St. Patrick, Auxilius and Isserninus requires, that divine service be not performed in a church, built even by a priest, until after it has been consecrated by a bishop; "*Si quis presbyterorum ecclesiam aedificaverit, non offerat antequam adducat suum Pontificem, ut eam consecret, quia sic decet.*" Amidst some other stuff he says, that reliques were placed in churches in 787. He refers to the 7th canon of the second council of Nice. But by this canon no new practice was introduced. The object of it was, as appears from the very words of it, and as has been observed by Balsamon and others, to re-establish the ancient one of not consecrating churches without

reliques of martyrs, which had been infringed by the Iconoclasts. The canon runs thus; “ In such churches as have been consecrated without holy reliques of martyrs, we order reliques to be placed, accompanied with the *usual* prayers; and whoever consecrates a church without holy reliques is to be deposed as a *transgressor of ecclesiastical traditions*.” Even Bingham is forced to acknowledge, (*B. VIII. ch. 1. sect. 8.*) that as early as the times of Constantine the great, churches used to be erected over the graves or reliques of martyrs. Ledwich then comes forward with this triumphant conclusion; “ While corruptions were creeping “ into religion on the continent, ours was pure and primitive. “ Retentive of the faith delivered to us, and precluded from access to Rome by the convulsions of the empire, we were strangers “ to the innovations of foreign churches; when time discovered “ them to us, we beheld them with horror and detestation.” Horror and detestation at what? Was it at the respect paid to reliques? I wish he had told us who were the persons, that expressed such feelings. The Irish, instead of abhorring reliques, took great care of them. We have often seen how carefully they preserved those of St. Patrick at Armagh, the shrine of Columbkille in Hy and elsewhere; and the attention and honour paid to those of St. Bridgid, &c. have just been mentioned. The church of Armagh was furnished from very old times with a considerable number of reliques of various saints (*Vit. Tripart. S. Patr. L. 3. c. 82.*); the delegates, who went to Rome about the year 630, brought thence reliques of martyrs on their return to Ireland; (see *Chup. xv. §. 6.*) and it was usual to expose or carry in procession reliques on solemn occasions. (See *ex. c. Chap. xxiii. §. 12.*) Usher was so well aware of the respect, which the Irish had for them, that he passes them by in his *Discourse*, &c. But the Doctor must have aluded not to reliques, but to our having retained the custom of building churches of wood, and thus preserving our religion pure by detesting the innovation of stone churches. For wood and stone are the burden of his talk. How any one could find this great virtue in wood, and connect it so closely with the doctrine and discipline of the Irish church, it is hard to conceive. Such notions suit only wooden-headed disputants.

Next he passes to chrism, wishing to make us believe that, because the Irish did not use it in baptism, (a matter already ex-

plained *Chap. xxiv. §. 12.*) it was not applied in the consecration of churches or altars. He might as well have said, that it was not used at all, not even in Confirmation. Now his introducing chrism brings us again to wood, for, as he argues, the Irish had altars of wood, (see *Chap. xxx. §. 7.*) which were therefore incapable of chrismation. And why? Because, he says, “the councils of Agde in 506, and of Epone in 517, forbid the holy oil to be applied but to *structures* of stone.” He had no right to appeal to the council of Agde; for it does not mention either stone or wood, but merely directs in its 14th canon, that altars should be consecrated not only with the unction of chrism, but likewise with the sacerdotal benediction; “*Altaria placuit non solum unctione chrismatis, sed etiam sacerdotali benedictione sacrari.*” It is true, that the council of Epone requires that no altars be consecrated except of stone, (see *Not. 48. to Chap. xxx.*) but it does not use the word *structures*, which Ledwich, who never scrupled to corrupt texts, or to quote falsely, introduced for the purpose of including also churches under that decree. And upon this vile trick he founds another position of his, *viz.* that churches were not “anointed with chrism” until the 6th century; while at the same time in neither of the councils, to which he refers, are churches at all mentioned. Now as to the canon of Epone relative to stone altars, what had it to do with the Irish church? That was far from being a general council; and, whatever weight its decrees might have had in France, they were not binding in Ireland.

Still he goes on with wood, and tells us that “the Britons, who “symbolized with the Irish in religious tenets, had only wattled “and wooden churches.—On the contrary the Anglo-Saxon “church, founded by an eleve of Rome, early adopted the masses, “stations, litanies, singing, reliques, pilgrimages, and other superstitious practices, flowing in a full tide from that imperial “city, and with these *that mode of building peculiarly suited to “them.* Hence the Anglo-Saxon fabrics had under them crypts “for reliques, &c.” Is it possible to listen with patience to such a medley of stupidity and ignorance! As if masses, stations, &c. might not have been celebrated and held, or psalms sung, or reliques preserved, in wooden churches as well as in stone ones. According to Ledwich the characteristic mark of what he calls a pure Church is, that its buildings be of wood. Why then has he

not exerted himself to get St. Paul's and the many other stone churches of these countries demolished, and wooden ones substituted in their stead? I am really ashamed to appear as if arguing against these absurdities. So little idea had the Irish, or their disciples, of wood being the only fit material for ecclesiastical buildings, that St. Cuthbert, who was either an Irishman, or, at least, brought up and trained in the Irish schools of Northumberland, erected in the island of Farne a chapel of large rough stones and turf. (Bede, *Vit. S. Cuthberti* cap. 17.) Ledwich himself, who calls Cuthbert an Irishman, makes mention of it (p. 138). On the other hand the Roman missionaries attached no consequence to building churches of stone. One of the first of them, Paulinus archbishop of York, is stated to have got renewed the old church of Glastonbury, by making its walls of wood, which were sheeted outside with lead. (See Usher, *Prim.* p. 114.) The Anglo-Saxons continued to use the wooden church, which Finan had built at Lindisfarne; and many years after his death Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, did not scruple to dedicate it under the name of St. Peter the apostle. Stone was not introduced into it; but for its preservation Eadbert, bishop (the seventh) of Lindisfarne, roofed it and sheeted the walls with lead. (Bede, *Eccl. Hist. L. 3. cap. 25.*) So much for our antiquary's reveries as to wood marking the pure Irish church, and stone the corrupt Anglo-Saxon one. He has some similar balderdash concerning the Ostmen erecting stone-roofed chapels *for reliques*, one of which he places at Glendaloch, as if those Ostmen of old could have had easy access to a district so emphatically Irish, and so strong. Why did he not add, that Cormac's stone-roofed chapel at Cashel was also built by Ostmen? When treating of the antiquities of Glendaloch, he pours out more nonsense concerning a connexion between reliques and stone buildings, together with some malignant jargon (p. 43.) concerning the *adoration* of reliques, instead of saying, that respect was paid to them. And here he pretends, that the practice of depositing reliques in churches was first introduced into Ireland by the Ostmen in the 9th century, notwithstanding that, as we have seen (*Chap. XXII. §. 12.*) those Ostmen were still pagans until about the middle of the tenth. Were they Ostmen, that brought reliques from Rome about, as remarked above, the year 630?

Among his fanciful explanations of some ruins of Glendaloch

I cannot but touch upon one of them, although unconnected with the points now treated of. Having found three figures on a loose stone, of which he has given an engraving, he describes them thus (p. 39); "The one in the middle is a bishop or priest sitting in a *chair* and holding a *penitential* in his hand. On the right a pilgrim leans on his staff; and on the left a young man holds a purse of money *to commute it for penance*." For this explanation he adduces no proof whatsoever. There is nothing to show that what the young man or rather boy, holds in his hand is a purse. It is rather a bell, with which he seems to summon the people to hear a sermon or discourse by the person in the middle, who appears not in a chair but raised on a pulpit, and holding a book. And even if it were a purse, who told Ledwich, that it contained commutation money? Might it not have been an offering to the church? And where did he find, that the book was a penitential? There is no kneeling, nor imposition of hands, nor any thing indicating a penitential transaction. But his perverse conjectures served him as a vehicle to enlarge on an abuse, which had nothing to do with the antiquities of Glendaloch, and which, as appears from a quotation of his own, was condemned by the Church.

(124) See *Chap. xxvii* §. 9. and *ib. Not. 59.*

(125) This was the opinion of the learned Molyneux (Boate's and Molyneux's *Nat. Hist. of Ireland*, p. 211) and has been followed by Ledwich, *Antiq. &c. art. on the Round Towers*, p. 285. *seqq.*

(126) Smith, speaking of the round tower of Ardmore, (*History of Waterford*, p. 48.) says that it has, no doubt, been used for a belfry or steeple; but he does not state, as Ledwich quoting him (p. 295) pretends, that such was the general use of all the round towers. Upon this quotation Dr. Milner remarks (*Letter 14. Inquiry or Tour in Ireland*); "Dr. Ledwich tells us, from "Mr. (Dr.) Smith, that the round tower at Ardmore has been, "at some period, used to hang a bell in, as appears by 'three "pieces of oak still remaining near the top of it" and by 'two "channels, which are cut in the sill of the door, where the rope "went out, the ringer standing below the door on the outside.' "But if these pieces of oak were coeval with the tower, it is un- "accountable that they should have remained entire, while the

“ beams in every other tower have mouldered away. Again, “ what reason can Dr. Ledwich assign, why there are not holes “ in the sills of every other tower? In a word, the ancient arch- “ itects were too wise to place the bell *under cover* and the ringer “ in the open air.’ In fact, the tower of Ardmore is covered with a stone roof ending in a point, (see a drawing of it in Vallancey’s *Collectanea*, Vol. 6. part. 1.) as are many other of our round towers to this day, and as they all undoubtedly were in the beginning. Dr. Milner’s general observation (*ib.*) on this point is very just. He says, “ that none of these towers is large enough for a “ single bell of a moderate size to swing round in it; that from the “ whole of their form and dimensions, and from the smallness of “ the apertures in them, they are rather culcated to stifle than “ to transmit to a distance any sound, that is made in them; “ lastly that, though possibly a small bell may have been accident- “ ally put up in one or two of them at some late period, yet we “ constantly find other belfries or contrivances for hanging bells “ in the churches adjoining to them.” Molyneux was aware of the difficulty, which the smallness of the dimensions opposed to their having been belfries, and, to ward it off, argued that they were ancient, because, he says, “ large bells are an invention of later times, and were not used in the earlier ages of the Church.” This is a pitiful evasion, especially coming from him, as he thought, of which by and by, that the round towers were built by the Danes, and consequently long after the early ages of the Church. To his argument Harris answers, (*Antiq. of Ireland* ch. 17.) that large bells were used in England as far back as the sixth century; and in fact, wherever belfries were erected designedly, a larger space was left for the swinging of the bell, and more opening allowed for the conveyance of sound, than we find in these towers. The very remarkable circumstance of the entrance or door into the towers being usually from 8 or 10 to 16 feet, or more, above the ground, without steps or any other means of getting in, unless with the help of a ladder, is, I think, a sure indication that they were not originally designed for belfries. What architect would have constructed a belfry, which the bell-ringer could not enter except by a ladder?

(127) Lynch, touching on the Round Towers, (*Cambr. Evers* p. 133.) says, that they were erected not for belfries but for watch-

towers, but that afterwards bells were placed in them; “*Non ut pro campanili sed pro speculo haberentur, unde prospectus ad longinqua late protenderetur. Postea tamen usus invaluit ut, campanis in earum culmine appensis, campanilium vices gererent—Vel nominis enim etymon illas indicat illi usui accomodatas fuisse; Clocteach enim perinde est ac domus campanæ, voce cloc campanam et teach domum significante.*” Ledwich refers (p. 285.) to this passage, but, in his usual mode of misquoting, omits what Lynch has about said towers not having been originally intended for belfries. He then quotes a passage from Peter Walsh, which is taken nearly word for word from Lynch, except that what Lynch mentions as a *report* is called by him *certain*. I cannot subscribe to what Lynch seems to assert, *viz.* that all the Round towers we are treating of were called *clocteach*, after some time; although an odd one of them might have been so called, from the circumstance of a bell being placed in it at a late period. But this was not the real name for a tower strictly understood. Towers are often mentioned in ancient Irish MSS. by the names *Tuir*, *Tura*, *Turreadh*; (see Dr. O’Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script. Ind. ad. proleg. p. 207.*) but *Clocteach* is the precise name for a belfrey, as translated by O’Brien, of whatsoever form or materials. As long as churches were built in Ireland of wood, it may be justly supposed that so were also the belfries; and we have seen, (*Not. 140. to Chap. XXII.*) that there was a wooden belfrey at Slane, which was burned by the Danes. Lynch’s idea that the Round towers were originally watch-towers, which he connects with his false supposition of their having been built by the Danes, (of which lower down) cannot be admitted no more than that of others, who imagined that they were erected to serve as beacons. Neither of these hypotheses can stand, as Harris and Dr. Milner have proved (*loc. cit.*) by very good reasons, such as their often being found in low and hollow situations, two of them being in some places near each other, &c. &c.

(128) Giraldus (*Topogr. Hib. Dist. 2. cap. 9.*) calls them, “*Turres ecclesiasticas, quae more patriae arctae sunt et altae, necnon et rotundae.*” He does not specify what ecclesiastical use they were applied to; but we may fairly conclude, that they were not then used as belfries; for if they were, he would in all probability have mentioned it. He must have considered some of them

as very ancient ; whereas he says, that the fishermen of Lough-Neagh used to see and show such towers in the bosom of that lake, which was said to have been formed by a sudden inundation at a very ancient period. He alluded to the tradition of Lough-Neagh, having burst out in the reign of Lugaid Riabhderg, who became king of Ireland in the year 65 of the Christian era. (See Harris' *County of Down*, ch. 1.)

(129) This opinion seems to have been proposed first by a Dean Richardson of Belturbet, from whom it was taken by Harris, who has endeavoured (*Antiq. ch. 17.*) to make it appear probable. It has been adopted also by Dr. Milner, (*Letter 14. quoted above*) who maintains, that these towers were well adapted for habitations of the *Inclusi*. In the Acts of St. Dunchad O'Braois. (of whom see *Chap. xxii. §. 15.*) the place, in which he led the life of an anchoret, is called a prison of narrow inclosure, *in arcti inclusorii ergastulo clausus* ; but it is not mentioned whether it was a tower or not. Harris imagined, that all the Irish anchorets lived in the round towers. For this he had no foundation whatsoever. Many of them lived in huts or caves in unfrequented places. We have met with several of them at Armagh ; but their habitations are constantly called *cells* not *towers*.

(130) I do not find, that those, who think that the Round towers were built for anchorets, have given us any explanation of the use of the four windows. Dr Milner assigns one or two reasons for the division into floors or stories ; and I know that they were requisite for enabling a person to ascend to the top by means of ladders ; but I confess that I cannot see the necessity for making so many stories, or, what comes to the same point, for raising the towers so high, if they were originally intended merely for anchorets. He does not say what Harris strives to maintain, *viz.* that they were divided into stories or lofts in imitation of the pillars of the Eastern Stylites, such as St. Symeon, St. Daniel. &c. ; for, let Harris say what he will, the only means of ascent to the tops of those pillars was from without, there being none inside.

(131) This is the account given by Smith (*History of the county, &c. of Cork, Vol. 2. p. 408.*) from, he says, some Irish MSS. If we could rely on this reference, it should be admitted, that the Round towers were applied to that purpose. As an additional proof, he states, that the Irish name for a penance is *turris*

the Latin name for a tower. I doubt much, whether it had that acceptation in Irish; at least I cannot find it in any Irish dictionary. Ledwich (*Antiq. &c.* p. 298) charges Smith with inconsistency, as if he had said elsewhere, that those towers were belfries. Now the fact is, that Smith merely said, that the one of Ardmore had been used as a belfrey; but he did not assert, that such was the general use of all of them. (See above *Not.* 126.) I wish Smith had given us the title of the *MS.* or *MSS.* to which he referred.

§. xvi. Yet after all, notwithstanding it cannot be denied that they were applied in Christian times to some ecclesiastical or religious purposes, some as belfries, others perhaps as retreats for anchorets, others as habitations for penitents, or, as may also be conjectured, of some persons connected with the service of neighbouring churches, the question still remains, whence the singular style of architecture, in which they universally appear, was derived to Ireland. There are no towers of a similar construction to be found in any part of continental Europe. To suppose, as some have thought, that they were erected by the Danes or Ostmen, is evidently a great mistake; for, were they of Danish architecture, how could it have happened, that neither in the Scandinavian countries whence those people came, nor in England, where they ruled more or less for a great number of years, nor in Normandy or other parts of Europe, which they occupied, is there a vestige of such buildings or any tradition concerning them to be met with? (132) Round towers or the remains of them are found in every part of Ireland, and very many of them in places, which were never possessed by the Danes. (133) On the contrary, there neither were nor are any of them in some of the chief seats of the Danes, such as, Waterford and Wexford. The peculiarity of these towers consists not in their being merely round; for round buildings were common enough, and the pillars, not

towers, of the Eastern Stylites are said to have been round ; but where do we find in other countries towers of a conical form, having the entrance into them many feet above the ground, with at the top four windows facing the four cardinal points, roofed &c. ? Now it is exceedingly remarkable, that towers of an exactly similar construction exist at this day in Hindostan. Lord Valentia saw two of them near Bhaugulpore, of which he has given a drawing. The door or entrance into them is, as appears from the drawing, about twelve feet above the ground ; there are four windows at the top, just as in the Irish towers, and they are covered with a small roundish roof. Of them he writes thus ; “ I was
 “ much pleased with the sight of two very singular
 “ round towers about a mile N. W. of the town.
 “ They much resemble those buildings in Ireland,
 “ which have hitherto puzzled the antiquaries of the
 “ sister kingdoms, excepting that they are more or-
 “ namented. It is singular, that there is no tra-
 “ dition concerning them, nor are they held in any
 “ respect *by the Hindoos of this country*. The
 “ Rajah of Jyenagur *considers them as holy*, and
 “ has erected a small building to shelter the great
 “ number of his subjects, who annually *come to*
 “ *worship here*. I have given an engraving of them,
 “ as I think them curious.” (134) These towers were undoubtedly erected by a people, who professed a religion different from that of the majority of the modern Hindoos.

(132) Lynch is, as far as I can discover, the first author, who has mentioned the Danes as the builders of the Round towers, and this he gives as only a hearsay. He writes ; (*Cambr. Evers. p. 133.*) “ *Exiguas tamen illas orbiculares arctasque turres Dani, Hiberniam Giraldo authore anno Dom. 838 primum ingressi, primi crexisse dicuntur, non ut*” &c. as above *Not. 127.* Peter Walsh copied Lynch, changing his *dicuntur* into *most certain*. This idea was taken up by Molyneux, who has nothing but loose unhistorical

conjectures on the subject, one of which is quite wrong. He says ; “ Had the old native Irish been the authors of this kind of architecture, they surely would have raised such towers as these in several parts of Scotland also, where they have been planted and settled many ages past ; but there we hear of none of them.” Now the fact is, that there are two of them in Scotland, one at Abernethy, and the other at Brechin, as Ledwich himself mentions, (*p.* 294.) who has given a drawing of the latter together with that of the church and the adjoining square belfrey. From this belfrey annexed to the church of Brechin it is clear, that the Round tower at the other side was not one. Ledwich has shamefully imposed on his readers by representing (*p.* 288. *seqq.*) Giraldus Cambrensis as having asserted, that the Round towers were built by the Danes. Now Giraldus says no such thing, nor in the little that he has said relatively to their mode of construction, which is all comprised in the few words quoted above, (*Not.* 128.) does he make any mention of Danes or Ostmen. On the contrary he plainly hints, that the architecture of them was purely Irish, *more patriae*. Besides, from his having looked upon at least some of them as very ancient, (see *ib.*) it is evident, that he could not have imagined, that they were erected by the Danes, whereas he supposed that they existed in Ireland before the arrival of that nation. Ledwich squeezed his misrepresentation of Giraldus out of another of Lynch’s meaning in the above quoted words. Lynch says, that the Round towers are reported to have been first erected by the Danes, whose first arrival in Ireland was, according to Giraldus, in the year 838. The sense of this plain passage is twisted by Ledwich, as if Lynch had stated that Giraldus said, that the Danes not only first came to Ireland in 838, but that they were likewise the first builders of the Round towers. Lynch could not have even thought of attributing such an assertion to Giraldus, whereas his object was to refute the supposition of Giraldus, that there were such towers in Ireland at times much earlier than those of the Danes. Lynch was arguing against what Giraldus has about Round towers being seen in Lough Neagh, (see *ib.*) and strove to refute him by showing, that there were not any such towers in Ireland at the very ancient period alluded to by Giraldus, whereas, he says, they are reported to owe their origin to the Danes, who, according to Giraldus himself, did not come to Ireland until *A. D.* 838.

(By the bye Giraldus was wrong in his date; for, as has been seen elsewhere, there were Danes in Ireland several years earlier.) The reader will now be able to form an opinion of Ledwich's logic and critical rules, and to judge of his fidelity in referring to authorities. I must here touch upon a pitiful argument adduced by Molyneux in confirmation of his hypothesis. He supposed, that *Cloghachd*, a word formed from *Clocteach*, and signifying *Belfrey*, was the original name for a Round tower. In this he was mistaken; and even according to Lynch, whom he seems to have followed, that could not have been the original name; for Lynch says, (see *Not.* 127) that they were not erected for the purpose of being used as belfries. Molyneux then tells us, that *Cloghachd* was taken from a foreign tongue, and derived from *Clugga* a German-Saxon word, that signifies a bell; and that therefore said towers were built by foreigners, that is, by the Ostmen. Now he was quite wrong as to this derivation; whereas *Cloghachd* was formed from the Irish *Cloc* or *Clog* the very ancient name for a bell, and which was used by the Irish long before the German-Saxons had churches or bells. We find it latinized into *Clocca*, and it was used by Columbkille, and generally by the ancient Irish writers, as signifying a bell (See *Not.* 186. to *Chap.* XI. and Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 374.) So that, instead of giving Saxon etymology to *Cloghachd*, the Saxon *Clugga* was most probably derived from the *Cloc* or *Clog* of the Irish teachers of the Saxons.

(133) Ledwich seems to have been aware of this difficulty; for he says (*p.* 289.) that the Irish imitated the Ostmen in the construction of these towers. To make us believe, that the Irish imitated their bitterest enemies, would require more than his bare word.

(134) Lord Valentia's *Voyages and Travels*, Vol. 1. p. 85.

§. XVII. The great similarity of these towers in the interior of Hindostan to our Irish Round towers has convinced me, that, as my worthy and learned friend General Vallancey had long endeavoured to establish in various tracts of his, (135) that this mode of architecture was introduced into Ireland in the times of paganism by a people, who came to this country from some far distant part of the East. The pat-

terns, from which the construction of our towers was imitated, were most probably the fire-temples of the Persians and others, who followed the Magian religion as reformed by Zerdusht, or, as he is usually called, Zoroastres. (136) Those temples were usually round, and some of them were raised to a great height. (137) That fire was in pagan times an object of worship, or, at least, great veneration in Ireland, and particularly the sun, which was considered the greatest of all fires, is an indubitable fact. (138) Now the lower part of an Irish Round tower might have answered very well for a temple, that is, a place in which was an altar, on which the sacred fire was preserved, while the middle floors could have served as habitations for the persons employed in watching it. (139) The highest part of the tower was an observatory intended for celestial observations, as, I think, evidently appears from the four windows being placed directly opposite to the four cardinal points. The veneration, in which the pagan Irish held the heavenly bodies and, above all, the sun, must have led them to apply to astronomical pursuits, which were requisite also for determining the length of their years, the solstitial and equinoctial times, and the precise periods of their annual festivals. (140) I find it stated, that the doors of most of these towers face the West. (141) If this be correct, it will add an argument to show, that they contained fire-temples; for the Magians always advanced from the West side to worship the fire. (142) According to this hypothesis the Round towers existed in Ireland before churches were built. I see no reason to deny, that they did; and the particular style of their construction shows, that they are very ancient. (143) But then, it is said, how does it happen, that they are usually found near old churches? In the first place this is not universally true. (144) Secondly it is to be observed, that these towers used to be built in towns or villages of some note, such,

in fact, as required churches in Christian times. Thus, wherever there was a Round tower, a church was afterwards erected; but not *vice versa*, whereas there were thousands of churches in Ireland without any such towers in the vicinity of them. (145) Thirdly, there was a prudential motive for the teachers of Christian faith to build churches near the sites of the Round towers, that they might thereby attract their new converts to worship the true God in the very places, where they had been in the practice of worshipping the sun and fire. (146) It may be, that some of these towers were built after the establishment of christianity in Ireland for penitential purposes, as already alluded to, although I have some doubts about it; (147) but I think it can scarcely be doubted, that the original models, according to which they were constructed, belong to the times of paganism, and that the singular style of architecture, which we observe in them, was brought from the East, between which and this country it is certain that there was an intercourse at a very ancient period of time.

(135) I need refer only to his *Second Essay on the Round Towers of Ireland* in the *Collectanea De Reb. Hib. Vol. 6. part 1.*

(136) This is not the place to enter into the question of the times of Zoroastres, or as some would have it, of divers Zoroastres. But the one, who is called the reformer of the Magian religion, lived, as far as I am able to judge, during the reign of Darius Hystaspides, king of Persia. Ledwich amidst his low and scurrilous observations (*p.* 298.) on Vallancey's system, strives to show by referring to Hyde (*Relig. Vet. Pers.*) that the Persians had no temples. He did not know how to distinguish the times. Let us hear Prideaux, who also referring to Hyde writes (*Connection, &c. Part 1. ch. 4.*); "Another reformation, which he (Zoroastres) "made in the Magian religion, was, that he caused fire-temples "to be built wherever he came. For whereas hitherto they had "erected their altars, on which their sacred fire was kept, on the "tops of hills, and high places in the open air, and there per-

“ formed all the offices of their religious worship, where often by
 “ rain, tempests and storms, the sacred fire was extinguished, and
 “ the holy offices of their religion interrupted and disturbed, for
 “ the preventing of this he directed, that, wherever any of those
 “ altars were erected, temples should be built over them, that so
 “ the sacred fires might be the better preserved, and the public
 “ offices of their religion the better performed before them. For
 “ all the parts of their public worship were performed before these
 “ public sacred fires, as all their private devotions were before pri-
 “ vate fires in their own houses; not that they worshipped the fire,
 “ (for this they always disowned) but God in the fire.” D’Her-
 belot makes mention of these fire-temples or *Pyreia* (Biblioth.
 Orient. at *Aluand* and *Parsi*); nor is there any one acquainted
 with Oriental learning, who denies, that they existed. But what
 did Ledwich care about learned men.

(137) Hanway says, (*Travels, Part 2. ch. 43. p. 292.*) that
 there are at Sari in the province of Mazanderan four temples of the
 Gebres or worshippers of fire, who formerly inhabited that country.
 “ It seemed inconsistent” he adds, “ that the Persians suffered
 “ these temples to remain unmolested after the abolition of a re-
 “ ligion, which they now esteem grossly idolatrous; but they are
 “ made of the most durable materials. These edifices are rotund,
 “ and above 30 feet diameter, raised in height to a point near 120
 “ feet.” It were to be wished, that he had been more particular
 in his description of them, and that he had said something about
 the entrance, and about the windows, &c. The elevation of these
 towers supplies an answer to Dr. Milner’s observation (*Letter 14.*)
 on Vallancey’s hypothesis of the Irish Round towers having been
Pyratheia or fire temples. He says, that for that purpose “ there
 was no occasion of carrying them up to so great a height;” but we
 have now seen, that the temples of Sari are also very high. Mau-
 rice states in his *Indian Antiquities*, quoted by Vallancey, that
 those fire temples were *always* round. This much is certain, that
 such was the shape of a great number of them.

(138) See *Chap. v. §. 5.* and *ib. Not. 43.* There seem to
 have been in Ireland, as there were in Persia two sects of fire-
 worshippers, one, that lighted their fires in the open air and per-
 formed their religious ceremonies on hills and high places, (Com-

pare with *Not. 45. ib.*) and the other, who having received the reformation of Zoroastres kept the sacred fire in temples.

(139) Prideaux, having spoken (*loc cit.*) of the sort of hierarchy of the followers of Zoroastres, *viz.* the inferior clergy, as he calls them, the superintendants, and the Archimagus or High priest, says, that they had three sorts of temples. He then proceeds in these words; “ The lowest sort were the parochial churches
“ or oratories, which were served by the inferior clergy—And the
“ duties, which they there performed, were to read the daily
“ offices out of their liturgy, and at stated and solemn times to
“ read some part of their sacred writings to the people. In these
“ churches there were no fire-altars; but the sacred fire, before
“ which they here worshipped, was maintained only in a lamp.
“ Next above these were their fire-temples, in which fire was con-
“ tinually kept burning on a sacred altar. And these were—the
“ churches or temples, where the superintendant resided. In
“ every one of these were also several of the inferior clergy enter-
“ tained, who—performed all the divine offices under the super-
“ intendant, and also took care of the sacred fire, which they
“ constantly watched day and night by four and four in their turns,
“ that it might be always kept burning, and never go out.
“ Thirdly, the highest church above all was the fire-temple, where
“ the *Archimagus* resided,” &c. From this statement it appears, that the people at large had access only to what Prideaux calls the lowest sort of churches, and that they were not admitted into the fire-temples strictly understood. The same system is still kept up by the Parsees; for as Anquetil du Perron relates, (*Zend. Avesta, Tom. 2. p. 569.*) the part or chamber of a modern Parsee temple, called *Atesch-gah* (place of fire), is not accessible to any persons except the *Mobeds* and *Herbeds*, *i. e.* their sorts of clergymen, except on some particular occasions, as in case of such clergymen not being present, when a privileged Parsee, who has passed through certain purifications, is allowed to enter it for doing something requisite, keeping at the same time his mouth covered with the *penom* or covering of doubled linen. Hence we may understand, how, notwithstanding the small dimensions of our Round towers, a part of them might have served for a fire-temple, which was entered only by the ministers of religion; and why the entrance into them was placed several feet above the ground,

as it was intended merely for the use of a peculiar and comparatively small class of persons. As the people at large were not admitted into them, they felt no inconvenience from the height of the doors; and the reason for placing them so high was probably to guard against any pollution of the sacred fire, or of the place where it was kept, which might happen, either from the breath of people standing near the tower, or from other causes, if the door were near the ground. For such scrupulous attention was observed on this point, that, as Prideux states, (*ib.*) “the priests themselves never approached this fire but with a cloth (the *penom*) over their mouths, that they might not breath thereon; and this they did, not only when they tended the fire to lay more wood thereon, or do any other service about it, but also when they approached it to read the daily offices of their liturgy before it.” He says likewise, that the priests “fed it only with wood stripped of its bark, and of that sort which they thought most clean, and they never did blow it either with bellows, or with their breath, for fear of polluting it; and to do this either of those ways, or to cast any unclean thing into it, was no less than death by the law of the land, as long as those of that sect reigned in it.”

Dr. Milner, objecting (*Letter cit.*) to the hypothesis of the Irish Round towers having been fire-temples, says, that “they ought rather to have been left open at the top, like our great furnaces, than closed up as they are found to be.” He supposed that the fires contained in them were great blazing masses like bonfires. This is a mistake, whereas those of the fire-temples were small, gentle, and placed on altars. To leave said temples open at the top would have been in direct opposition to the object of Zoroastres, who introduced the fashion of temples for the very purpose of protecting the holy fire against rain, storms, &c. (See above *Not.* 136.) And at this day the *Ateschgah* of the Parsees is a covered room, as Anquetil informs us, (*loc. cit.* p. 571.) who also remarks, (p. 569.) that means are contrived for carrying off the smoke. And such might have also been easily contrived in the Round towers with the help of the loop-holes, which we find in them, or of the door; which I mention to guard against an objection that might be made of how those covered temples were kept free from smoke.

(140) See Dr. O’Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scr.* 1. *Proleg.* p. 32, and

Index to Proleg. p. 206. In the former place he quotes passages from Tigernach, and from the Annals of Ulster and of the 4 Masters at A. 995, in which among other buildings destroyed by lightning at Armagh are mentioned *Fiadh-Nemeadh. i. e.* celestial testimonies or indications. They are distinguished from the *Cloicteacha*, or belfries, and might have been, as he conjectures, Round towers used for astronomical purposes. It is well known, that the astronomical studies were cultivated in Ireland, and we have met with several Irishmen, who were well versed in them, such as Cumian, author of the Paschal epistle, St. Virgilius, Dungal, &c.

(141) Smith, *Hist. of Cork, Vol. 2. p. 408.*

(142) Prideaux says (*loc. cit.*) that, “when they came before these fires to worship, they always approached them on the west side, that having their faces towards them, and also towards the rising sun at the same time, they might direct their worship towards both.”

(143) Dr. Milner, an excellent judge in these matters, touching (*Letter cit.*) on the period, in which they were generally erected, writes; “It appears to me, that this must be very remote, from the circular arches over the doors of many of them, which proves them to be anterior to the introduction of the pointed arch,” &c. He also remarks, that in the times of Giraldus Cambrensis, as I have already mentioned, they were considered as of great antiquity. The materials, of which they are built, being usually of the best kind, *ex. c.* those of the tower at Cashel. which are much better than those of the adjoining and much more modern cathedral, the excellence and neatness of the workmanship, circumstances noticed by Dr. Milner, the thickness of the walls, generally about three feet, and their conical form, are more than sufficient to account for their durability and for their having been so little injured by time, although some of them may have been erected two thousand years ago.

(144) I mean, if understood of being very near the churches. Those of Kildare and Drumiskin (co. Louth) stand 90 feet, and that of Downpatrick 48 from the respective churches. (*Ledwich. Antiq. p. 304.*)

(145) See Ledwich's list of Round towers, *ib. p. 300. seqq.* It is not, however complete. Mr. Dutton (*Statistical Survey of*

the county of Clare, ch. v. sect. 23.) makes mention of some in that county, which are omitted in said list.

(146) I cannot better illustrate this point than by referring to the conduct of Gregory the great in his directions to the missionary Augustin, communicated in a letter to the abbot Mellitus, (*ap. Bed. Eccl. Hist. L. 1. cap. 30.*) not to destroy the temples of the Anglo-Saxons, but, having overturned the idols, to purify these temples and apply them to the worship of the true God, placing altars, &c. in them, that so the people might be induced, by the circumstance of their having been accustomed to resort to those places, to continue to do so for the purpose of acquiring the knowledge of the true God, and adoring him. His words are; “*Dicite ei (Augustino) quid diu mecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractavi, videlicet quod fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant; sed ipsa quae in eis sunt idola destruantur, aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquiae componantur. Quia, si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut a cultu daemonum in obsequi a veri Dei debeant commutari, ut, dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non videt destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum verum cognoscens ac adorans ad loca, quae consuevit, familiarius concurrat.*” A similar principle seems to have actuated the preachers of christianity in Ireland; but, as the Round towers could not, on account of their narrow dimensions, be changed into churches, they thought it advisable to erect churches near them.

(147) Smith, who speaks of their having been used as prisons for penitents, (above §. 15. and *Not.* 131.) says, (*ib. p.* 409.) that the tower of Kineth in W. Carbery (county of Cork) was built about the year 1015, for which he refers to an old MS. containing some annals of Munster. But, even supposing the accuracy of his assertion, I may observe, that he represents this tower as differing from all the others he had heard of. The first story is a regular hexagon, each side being 10 feet 4 inches, so that the whole circumference is 62 feet. This is much greater than the usual circumference of the real Round towers, in which no angles appear. Accordingly, although built somewhat in imitation of them, being from the first story upwards quite round, it does not precisely belong to that class of buildings. He does not tell us, whether the entrance into it be several feet above the ground, or whether it

has at the top the four windows facing the cardinal points; two remarkable peculiarities of the Round towers strictly so called. If it be true that it was erected as late as Smith states, it might have been intended for a receptacle for penitents. The strongest argument I meet with for the building of any Round tower, according to the ancient fashion in Christian times, is furnished by that of Brechin in Scotland, which has over one of the two arches on its western front a figure of our Saviour on the Cross, and between both arches two small statues of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John. (See Ledwich, *p.* 294 and 297, and his drawing of that tower, and Gough's *Observations on the Round tower of Brechin*, (*Archaeologia*, Vol. 2.) which, together with the drawing, have been followed by Ledwich.) If these figures were placed there at the time of its erection, it is evident that it must be assigned to a Christian period. But might not they have been added long after the original building of the tower, and after it was applied to some Christian purpose?

THE END.

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